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A

JOURNAL

DURING A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE,

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF AUGUST,

TO THE

MIDDLE OF DECEMBER, 1792.

97305

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS FROM THAT TIME TO THE DEATH OF THE LATE KING OF FRANCE.

BY JOHN MOORE, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum. TACIT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1793.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Work has been ſo much retarded by unexpected incidents, that the Firſt Volume only could be publiſhed at preſent. The Second will appear ſoon.

A

JOURNAL, &c.

BEFORE I was twenty-one years of age, I reſided for two years at Paris. I afterwards made a tour into Flanders, and returned through France, ſome time previous to my accompanying the Duke of Hamilton to that and other countries of Europe.

On all thoſe occaſions, the affability, the eaſe, and peculiar gaiety of the French nation left a very pleaſing impreſſion on my mind, and I often regretted that a peo-

ple ſo formed for enjoying and communicating happineſs, ſhould labour under the oppreſſion of an arbitrary government, and unequal laws.

I often ſaid, How ſupremely happy would a people of ſuch diſpoſitions be, were they to obtain a ſyſtem of government as free and impartial as that which Great Britain has enjoyed ſince the Revolution!

From the moment, indeed, that I had any opportunity of obſerving how much human nature is expoſed to be inſulted and degraded, from the want of this bleſſing, I had moſt earneſtly wiſhed it to every country of the globe; and when the Revolution took place in France, in the year 1789, I rejoiced in the hopes that ſo extenſive and populous a portion of Europe would acquire it.

With ſuch ſentiments, it was natural for me to have a deſire of viſiting the ſame people in a ſtate of freedom, whoſe com-

plicated oppreſſions I had ſo often lamented under their former government.

A very agreeable opportunity of accompliſhing this deſire was propoſed to me laſt ſummer by the Earl of Lauderdale, with whom I had the happineſs of being acquainted from his early youth, and whoſe father had long honoured me with his friendſhip.

His Lordſhip's ill ſtate of health rendered a few months reſidence in a mild climate highly expedient. His plan was, after a ſhort ſtay at Paris, to proceed farther South; and to make it ſtill more acceptable to me, he was ſo obliging as to invite the only one of my ſons who had not been in France, to be of the party.

We embarked at Dover on the morning of the fourth of Auguſt, and in a few hours arrived at Calais, where I began the following Journal.

Auguſt 4, 1792.

ON our arrival at Calais, we were conducted to the Town-houſe, where a circumſtantial deſcription of our features and perſons was inſerted in our paſſports for Paris.

Auguſt 5

Lord Lauderdale's delicate ſtate of health did not permit us to go farther than Abbeville this day.

The inhabitants of this country appear as gay as ever, notwithſtanding the formidable armies now prepared to attack them. —At one village, near which we changed horſes, about fifty or ſixty peaſants were dancing cotillons on a green plain under the ſhade of trees: they diſcovered no fear of Auſtrians or Pruſſians, nor did *care* of any kind ſeem to diſturb their minds: I thought them equally cheerful, and rather better dreſſed than I ever obſerved the peaſants of this part of France before: it

is

is Sunday, and of courſe they are all in their beſt clothes. In the higher ranks, in every country, it is not uncommon to ſee people richly dreſſed with very ſorrowful countenances. I do not recollect to have ever met with any French people of the lower order, male or female, in town or country, with a ſorrowful face, when they imagined themſelves well dreſſed.

The laſt time I was at Abbeville, I read an inſcription on a column in one of the churches, reſpecting the Chevalier La Bar, who was executed in this town on account of ſome indignity he was accuſed of having ſhewn to an old wooden image of the Virgin, which ſtood on the bridge. He was ſaid to have wounded it in the ſhoulder with his couteau de chaſſe, as he ſtaggered from a tavern, in company with a ſet of young men as thoughtleſs and intoxicated as himſelf. This piece of étourderie, which might with propriety have

been punished by some weeks imprisonment, occasioned a greater alarm, about thirty years ago, in this town and its neighbourhood, than the march of the German armies at present. Although the wound in the image was but slight, the Virgin was supposed to be mortally offended: many prayers and processions were made to expiate the offence. After all, some, who judged of her disposition by their own, took pains to persuade the people that nothing would satisfy her, or avert the vengeance of Heaven, but the life of the Chevalier La Bar—A criminal process was carried on with the hottest zeal, and a sentence obtained against him.

The unhappy youth was beheaded accordingly, and an account of the whole transaction was inscribed in letters of gold in the principal church, for the instruction of posterity. Of late, however, this inscription has been removed, which has

given

given offence, I underſtand, to the zealous people of this place.

While we were at ſupper, the landlord of the inn read us part of a letter which he had juſt received from Paris, giving an account of petitions that had been read in the National Aſſembly, requiring a declaration of the Dechéance, that is, of the King's having forfeited the crown. We expreſſed ſurpriſe at this, and I aſked the landlord what he thought of it? "Mais* ma foi, Monſieur," ſaid he, with emphaſis and geſticulation—and then pauſing, he turned the anſwer into a queſtion, ſaying, "† Que voulez-vous qu'on penſe, Monſieur?" This was the amount of the landlord's opinion, which he never varied, though he ſpoke ſeveral times afterwards on the ſame ſubject.

'Faith, Sir.

What would you have me to think?

Clermont, Auguſt 6.

We met many carriages with people flying from Paris; wherever we ſtopped, or had any opportunity of converſing with them, they gave an alarming account of the ſtate of that city, and were ſurpriſed at our thinking of going there at this time. They all ſeemed to be impreſſed with the notion that an important event is about to happen.

One man ſaid, that certain people had been of late engaged in a conſpiracy which would break out *on the ninth of this month.* We could not help ſmiling at the notion of a conſpiracy which was ſo well known beforehand, and conſidered his apprehenſions as groundleſs.

I aſked, however, of a genteel looking man who had juſt arrived at this place in the Diligence, whether he thought there was any danger in being at Paris? "Pas le moindre,"

moindre *," answered he. They talk, said I, of dethroning the King. " Tant pis pour lui," said the man ; " mais cela ne vous regarde pas †." To hear a Frenchman talk with so much indifference of dethroning a King, however petty the Monarch might be, was what I did not expect ; but to hear him speak with the same indifference of dethroning his own King, that, I confess, astonished me. I remember the time when the most dreadful convulsion of nature would have been considered in France as of less importance, and would have occasioned less alarm.

Paris, Aug. 7.

We left Clermont early this morning, and were too impatient to get to Paris, to stop long at Chantilly, which, besides, wears at present a less inviting aspect than it used to

* Not the least.

† So much the worse for him, but that is nothing to you.

do.

do. While the horſes were changing, I aſked a poor fellow in rags, who aſſiſted the poſtillion, if the People wiſhed for the return of the Prince.

All the poor do, ſaid the man.

He was very charitable then? ſaid I.

" * Charitable comme un autre," replied the man, " mais il étoit riche comme mille."

It would be unfortunate for the country then, ſaid I, if his vaſt eſtate ſhould ever be divided among a thouſand proprietors?

" † Ouida pour les pauvres aſſurément," replied he, " parceque c'eſt des bontés des Princes et des Grands que les pauvres vivent."

Finding the reaſoning of this philoſopher unanſwerable, I took my leave of him, and proceeded to Paris, where we arrived about

* Charitable like another man—but as rich as a thouſand.

† Yes aſſuredly, for the poor, becauſe it is through the bounty of Princes and Lords that the poor live.

two o'clock, at the Hotel de Moſcovie, in the fauxbourg St. Germain. After dinner we drove to the gardens of the Palais Royal, which ſwarmed with people of all ſorts, who had as little the air of apprehenſion of an approaching enemy, and leſs the air of anxiety of any kind than thoſe we left on croſſing the Channel——the Piazzas reſounded with various kinds of muſical inſtruments, and the voices of thoſe who ſung as they walked or danced along. I aſked a ſhopkeeper if they had received any *very good* news from the Frontiers. "Rien, Monſieur," anſwered he, "depuis le Manifeſte de Brunſwick *."

From the Palais Royal we went to the National Aſſembly. Here the ſcene was not ſo gay: the debate was carried on with a degree of violence which I have hardly ever ſeen equalled; yet the ſubject,

* Nothing, anſwered he, ſince Brunſwick's Manifeſto,

while

while I ſtaid, was not of a nature which one could have expected would much inflame the paſſions---it regarded certain bells which they propoſed to coin into money.

After being informed of what had paſſed at Paris a few days before our arrival, we had more reaſon to be ſurpriſed at the ea air and gaiety of the inhabitants, than the alarm of thoſe we met on the road hurrying from this city.

On the third of this month, M. Dejoly, the Miniſter of Juſtice, delivered a meſſage to the National Aſſembly from the King, reſpecting the Manifeſto of the Duke of Brunſwick, although his Majeſty declares at the ſame time, that in his opinion the Manifeſto does not bear ſufficient marks of authenticity.---He aſſerts, that he had been averſe to the war, and had adopted that meaſure only in compliance with the unanimous opinion of his Council; but, that

ſince

ſince the declaration of war he had neglected no meaſure to inſure its ſucceſs; that his efforts would augment in proportion to the urgency of events; and that he would act in concert with the Aſſembly, to render the evils inſeparable from war, profitable for the liberty and honour of the nation----with many other patriotic expreſſions.

On its being moved, that this meſſage from the King ſhould be ordered to be printed, which is the uſual mark of reſpect ſhewn by the Aſſembly to the addreſſes or petitions it approves, the motion was oppoſed. One of the members obſerved, that it was not by *words*, but by *actions*, that the King ſhould prove his love of liberty and the conſtitution.

M. Iſnard went farther; he offered "to prove that what the King aſſerted was not true." He was interrupted, not ſo much on account of the indecency of this expreſſion,

ſion, as becauſe he wandered from the queſtion in debate, which was, whether the King's letter ought to be printed or not.—It was obſerved, that what he had ſaid was preciſely in point, becauſe, if he proved that the contents of the letter were not true, it followed that it ought not to be printed.

Iſnard then ſaid, "That when fanatical prieſts had attempted to kindle a civil war, the Aſſembly had propoſed repreſſive decrees, which the King had refuſed to ſanction.

"That he had diſmiſſed the patriotic miniſters who poſſeſſed the confidence of the nation; that he muſt have been acquainted for more than a year with the treaty of Pilnitz, yet he had taken no meaſure to defeat it, or to procure allies for France; that the miniſters had promiſed to have 150,000 men ready to act; and yet, although war was declared, nothing near that number was levied, and thoſe who were, had not been

been properly armed; and that every measure had been taken to render the enemy's attack on France successful."

Another member said, "That the only thing which had determined the King to send the message was, that he knew that the majority of the sections were about to address the Assembly to divest him of the crown."

After a warm debate, the letter from his Majesty was *not* ordered to be printed.

On the same day Petion, the mayor of Paris, at the head of a deputation of the common council, and attended by a great number of citizens from the different sections, came to the bar of the Assembly, and presented an address of a very extraordinary nature.

It began by expressions of sorrow for the necessity of accusing the Chief of the executive power, and proceeded to declare, "that although the people have great reason to be

enraged

enraged againſt Lewis the Sixteenth, yet as the appearance of anger does not become power, they will uſe the language of moderation." In this language of *moderation*, therefore, all that his enemies ever accuſed the King of previous to his accepting of the conſtitution, was minutely enumerated, accompanied by a declaration that all thoſe crimes were obliterated, and covered by the pardon granted by the people. But the addreſſers declare, that they cannot help mentioning the King's ingratitude to a people who have behaved ſo generouſly to him "What right had he (ſay they) to expect they would replace him on the throne, after he had attempted to fly from France that he might reign at Coblentz? Could he found his expectation on his deſcent from a race of kings, among twenty of which there was hardly one tolerable? Yet the nation had forgiven all, and reſtored the crown to him, ſince which moment he had never

ceaſed

ceaſed to conſpire againſt the freedom of his country; that an army of traitors, led by his brothers, invaded France; that to avenge the cauſe of Lewis the Sixteenth, the execrable Houſe of Auſtria deſires to add a new page to the hiſtory of its crimes, and, adopting the horrid idea of Caligula, wiſhes at one blow to ſtrike off the heads of all the good citizens of France."

After more in the ſame ſtrain, the addreſs concludes with requeſting, "that the King be decreed to have forfeited the crown; that the government be put into the hands of patriotic miniſters named by the people, till a National Convention be aſſembled."

Theſe being the terms in which thoſe citizens addreſs their King when they are calm, I ſhould like to know what language they make uſe of when they are in a rage.

The addreſs however, ſuch as it was, gained the loudeſt applauſe of the people in the galleries.

The following day an addreſs from the ſection of Mauconſeil was read in the Aſſembly—in this, ſix hundred perſons of that ſection declare, " that they have conceived the noble deſign of aſſuming their rights, of reſtoring liberty, and deſtroying deſpotiſm. Too long (they ſay) has a deſpicable tyrant ruled over us: without troubling ourſelves with enumerating his crimes, let us break this Coloſſus of deſpotism to pieces, and may the noiſe of his fall reach to the uttermoſt parts of the earth, and make every tyrant grow pale!"

It muſt be acknowledged that this noble deſign of ſix hundred perſons of the ſection of Mauconſeil is a pretty bold one, and as boldly expreſſed. It would ſeem that ſome members of a more tender conſcience than the reſt, had ſcruples about the oath of fidelity they had ſworn to the King: thoſe are removed by the penner of this curious addreſs with wonderful facility; to break an

oath,

oath, or to break the Coloſſus of deſpotiſm, ſeems equally eaſy to him.

"Let us break," cried he, "the oath we have taken."

"Le parjure eſt vertu, quand on a juré un crime."

The applauſe which this addreſs received, was intermixed with a good deal of laughter. That ſome mad enthuſiaſt ſhould write a fooliſh paper, and get ſix hundred idle people to ſign it, muſt be owned, is no ſure indication of the public mind. Yet ſuch a paper being allowed to be read in the National Aſſembly, is a proof that the diſpoſition of a conſiderable number, at leaſt, of this body is not friendly to the King.

Which appeared more evidently on the ſixth, when a tumultuous crowd came from the Champ de Mars, with a roll of parchment ſigned by a great number of people of all the ſections. This parchment had lain for eight days on the altar which was

built for the ceremony of the fœderation, and was then brought to the door of the Aſſembly as a petition, by a mob of both ſexes. After ſome oppoſition, it was ordered that twenty of them ſhould be admitted to the bar. While this petition was read, one carried a pole crowned with a red cap, inſcribed with theſe words, **Deſtruction du pouvoir perſécutif.*

And the following words beneath, *Appel au Peuple.*

Theſe inſcriptions excited the indignation of the Aſſembly; and they were ordered to be torn off before the petition was read. The petition was of a moſt incendiary nature, and the reading took near an hour.

Theſe violent ſcenes ſufficiently prove the heats and animoſities which exiſt, and account for a number of people retiring

* Deſtruction to the perſecuting power.

† Appeal to the People.

from

from Paris from the dread of ſome ſtill greater diſorder.

Auguſt 8.

A debate of great expectation took place this day in the National Aſſembly—A committee of twelve members were ſome time ſince appointed to deliberate on the conduct of M. de la Fayette.—Jean de Brie made the report, in which he greatly blamed the conduct of the General, in having calumniated and menaced the National Aſſembly; in having had the deſign to march his army againſt Paris; and in having aſſumed unconſtitutional power: and the reporter concluded by propoſing a decree of accuſation.

The diſcourſe of Jean de Brie was greatly applauded by the audience in the tribunes. M. Vaublanc made an able and eloquent defence of the General's conduct; but when he propoſed the previous queſtion to Jean de Brie's motion, the people in the galleries raiſed the moſt violent exclamations and

murmurs, which were, however, balanced by the applauſe of the majority of the Aſſembly.

Briſſot ſpoke next, and added new force to the reaſoning of Jean de Brie. When the decree of accuſation was put to the vote, it was rejected by a majority of near 200.

This occaſioned freſh murmurs in the galleries, and violent agitation in the Aſſembly.

As this was conſidered as a trial of ſtrength between the parties, it is to be preſumed that the majority of the Aſſembly is with the Court; and that in future debates it will rather augment than diminiſh, as is uſually the caſe in the Britiſh Houſes of Parliament after a very great majority in favour of either party. The minority however ſeem to have the people with them. I am told indeed that thoſe noiſy people in the galleries are hired; but this does not account to me for the cry being all on one

ſide.

ſide. The partiſans of the Court, one would imagine, might hire applauders as well as the others.

Auguſt 9.

I was informed late laſt night, that the great majority which voted in favour of La Fayette had excited rage and indignation among the partiſans of oppoſition, which they manifeſted in the moſt open and alarming manner; that this victory, ſo far from diſcouraging them from new attempts againſt the Court, ſeemed to prompt them to greater exceſſes than ever; and that ſeveral members who had oppoſed his being accuſed, had been groſsly inſulted as they went from the Aſſembly; and ſome of them, particularly M. Vaublanc, had narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination. I was informed at the ſame time, that new addreſſes were to be preſented this day, requiring the *decheance*, or at leaſt the ſuſpenſion of the King's power during the war, and that this extraordinary

queſtion would be debated in the Aſſembly to-day.

I went to the National Aſſembly this morning about nine. The tribunes, and all the places allotted for ſtrangers, were full. I underſtood that an addreſs had been read, as I was entering, from ſome town, the name of which I forget, demanding the dechéance.

A very noiſy diſcuſſion occupied the Aſſembly, ariſing from that and other propoſals, which I could not hear diſtinctly for a conſiderable time: but I underſtood that it was propoſed to ſuſpend the King's authority during the whole time that the debate on the ſubject of the dechéance continued; for it is allowed that the queſtion requires ſome days deliberation, and a decree was propoſed, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, for that purpoſe. But before theſe could be taken into conſideration, M. Merlet, the preſident, informed the Aſſembly, that he had received

a number

a number of letters from members, which he desired might be read.

In one, the writer complains " of having been attacked in the street the preceding night by a number of men in the dress of the national guards, and grossly insulted; that he had informed them of his being a member of the Assembly, and had shewn them the ribbon which the deputies wear: on which one of them answered, that it was precisely for that reason, and his having spoken and voted in favour of the traitor La Fayette, that they would put him to death; which when they were preparing to do, he had been saved by a grenadier and some citizens."

Another member wrote, "that he had been attacked in the same manner; that one man had actually seized and lifted him from the ground, while those around called out *à la lanterne.*"

At this the people in the galleries applauded,

plauded, evidently ſignifying that they ſhould have rejoiced if the threat had been completely executed.

This indecent behaviour in the audience threw the Court party into ſuch a paroxyſm of rage, that they ſtarted from the benches, ruſhed in a body towards the ſeat occupied by the preſident, extending their arms, and requiring that the inſolence of the people in the galleries ſhould be checked and prevented.

I expected of courſe that the galleries would be cleared, and was more provoked than before at the intolerable impertinence of the people.

I expreſſed my fears to the perſon next me. " *Soyez tranquille, Monſieur," ſaid he, " et ne bougez pas."

Indeed I was ſoon convinced that the people in the galleries were more likely to

* Be you at your eaſe, Sir, and do not move.

thruſt

thruſt out the members, than that the members would expel them. For although ſome of the deputies ſhook their hands in a threatening manner at the people in the tribunes, thoſe threats and geſtures only provoked laughter.

A third letter gave an account "that ſeveral deputies had been obliged to take refuge in a corps de garde, from the fury of certain perſons who had followed and abuſed them as they went home from the Aſſembly; that theſe perſons were not citizens of Paris, but ſtrangers, fœderés, as was ſuppoſed, hired for the purpoſe of inſulting particular members pointed out to them; that the corps de garde was on the point of being forced by theſe perſons, when the members made their eſcape by a back window."

Another letter informed the Aſſembly, "that a deputy having gone for refuge into a ſhop in the Rue St. Honoré, one of the fœderés had followed him, and declared, that

that if he ever ſaw him attempt to return to the Aſſembly, he would ſtrike off his head with a ſtroke of his ſabre, which he drew half out of the ſcabbard as he ſpoke."

When mention was made in the former letter of the deputy's eſcaping by the window of the corps de garde, it excited ſome mirth in the galleries; but at the idea of one of their heads being cut off, I thought there would have been no end of exultation: there was a loud and univerſal peal of laughter from all the galleries.

And the members on one ſide of the hall were as violent in expreſſing their indignation. Some called out to the preſident to put an end to the meeting; others propoſed that it ſhould be immediately decreed, that the National Aſſembly ſhould withdraw from Paris to ſome other town in France, where they could deliberate in ſafety, and free from inſult.

The noiſe and diſorder were exceſſive:

fifty

fifty members were vociferating at once: I never was witneſs to a ſcene ſo tumultuous; the bell, as well as the voice of the preſident, was drowned in a ſtorm, compared to which, the moſt boiſterous night I ever was witneſs to in the Houſe of Commons, was calm.

When with much difficulty, and a great deal of ringing and geſticulation, the preſident could be heard, he announced to the Aſſembly, that he was juſt informed by two members, that a number of armed men ſurrounded the hall. On which a member propoſed, that proper meaſures ſhould be immediately taken for the ſecurity of the Legiſlative Body.

But two members having ſtepped out to aſcertain the fact, returned, and declared that, although there were a number of citizens at the doors, none were armed except the guard of the Aſſembly.

On which a tumult of another kind aroſe;

the preſident was loudly, and not in a very reſpectful manner, required to name thoſe who had given this falſe information, and calumniated the worthy and peaceable citizens of Paris.

The preſident, who ſeemed to me not to be at all at his eaſe, anſwered, with a little heſitation, that he did not know the members who gave him the information.

One of thoſe who had given the information then ſtood up and ſaid, that he had ſeen men armed with ſabres in the corridors; that ſome alſo had piſtols, of which he thought it his duty to acquaint the preſident.

There was a cry againſt thoſe who had calumniated the people. Some called out to ſend the member priſoner to the Abbaye; and one part of the Aſſembly ſeemed infinitely more inclined to puniſh thoſe who had given this information, than thoſe who

had insulted, abused, and threatened their colleagues.

La Croix exclaimed, "that they wished to have a pretext for transferring the Assembly to Rouen, and for that purpose asserted that the hall was surrounded with armed men, that the public might believe that the deputies had not full liberty of deliberating and voting."

But how can men be thought to deliberate or vote with freedom, who are pursued, insulted, and menaced by a mob for the opinions and votes they give?

After it had been insisted on for some time with violence, that the two members who had given the erroneous information should be sent for three days to the Abbaye, that measure was dropped, and a letter was read from Dejoly, the minister of justice, informing the Assembly that the people were continually instigated to violence and to murder, by agitators hired for the purpose,

poſe, and by placarts on the walls: he then enumerated the inſults the deputies had ſuffered the foregoing evening, and that he had denounced ſome perſons ſuſpected of theſe exceſſes to the criminal tribunal, by orders from the King.

The moment the King was mentioned, the tribunes reſounded with laughter, and hooting in the moſt indecent manner.

After theſe had in ſome meaſure ceaſed, the concluſion of the miniſter's letter was read, declaring, " that unleſs ſome effectual means of repreſſing thoſe diſorders were adopted, it would be impoſſible for the government to be anſwerable for the ſafety of either the lives or property of the citizens."

A member aſcended the tribune and declared, " that as he was going out of the hall laſt night, but being ſtill within the walls, and walking through the paſſage, he was violently ſtruck by a perſon unknown."

A voice

A voice was heard demanding, on what part?

This interruption raiſed great indignation on one ſide of the hall. "I am aſked," reſumed the member, "on what part I was ſtruck. I anſwer, Behind: it is only from behind that aſſaſſins ſtrike; and I now declare, in the name of the nation, whoſe deputy I am, that I will no longer vote in this Aſſembly till the legiſlative body can enſure me liberty and ſafety."

M. Vaublanc then gave an account, "that he had been ſought after and purſued by aſſaſſins, who had even abuſed his ſervant for declaring he did not know where his maſter was; that having been informed of this, he had not ventured to ſleep at his own houſe, but had paſſed the night at the houſe of a friend."

He proceeded in a very eloquent and perſpicuous ſtyle, to ſhew that it was not ſimple indignities offered to individuals they

were now called to repreſs and puniſh, but thoſe offered to the French nation. "What," ſaid he, "when an ambaſſador of the King was inſulted in a foreign nation, you thought it a ſufficient cauſe of war; and will you permit the deputies of the French nation to be treated in a manner as outrageous as they could ſuffer from the Pruſſians or Auſtrians?"

He added, "that as the Aſſembly was not free, and could not deliberate with ſafety, meaſures ſhould be taken to ſecure the inviolability and liberty of the members: beſides, he propoſed that it ſhould be immediately decreed, that all the fœderés ſhould leave Paris."

Kerſaint ſeemed to approve of this, ſo I ſuppoſe it will be adopted.

At this time I left the Aſſembly; and after calling on an acquaintance, I returned by the key of the Louvre, intending, before I went to the Hotel de Moſcovie, juſt

to ſtep into the gardens of the Tuileries, by the gate next the Pont Royal, and was a good deal ſurpriſed to find that two Swiſs ſentinels refuſed entrance to all but thoſe who preſented a ticket: while I ſtood on the bridge I ſaw ſeveral perſons admitted by that means, and the gate carefully ſhut immediately after them. This ſeemed to be viewed with an evil eye by the people—ſome of whom murmured, and talked of the garden's belonging to the public, and not to the family lodged in the Palace, of all of whom the populace ſpoke with irreverence, and of ſome of them in terms too indecent to be repeated.

From the violent manner in which the debates are carried on in the National Aſſembly, and other circumſtances I have remarked ſince my arrival at Paris, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, that the ſudden tranſition which the French have made from a government of powerful and rigid

controul, to one ſo very indulgent and lax as that now eſtabliſhed, will have ſome bad effects on the minds and conduct of a people of ſo much vivacity as the natives of this country. Beſides, the French have been thought to have more levity of character than the natives of other countries of Europe. This levity was a ſource of conſolation to them under an oppreſſive government; it prevented the tyranny which was exerciſed over them, from making the ſame impreſſion that it would have made on a people of more ſerious reflection: but the ſame levity and vivacity of character which proved a conſolation to them in the gloom of deſpotiſm, may prove pernicious in the ſunſhine of liberty.

Perhaps they would have borne a free government with more moderation, and of courſe they would have had a better chance of enjoying it long, had it been obtained in a more gradual manner.

The

The French have reared the pillar of Liberty with ſuch rapidity, and to ſuch a height, that it ſeems to have rendered them more giddy than ever.

I had a good deal of converſation this evening with a man of conſiderable underſtanding, who has lived many years in this place, and is thought to have opportunities of knowing the true ſtate of the public affairs: his opinion is, that the Duke of Brunſwick's Manifeſto has been of infinite prejudice to the King, becauſe great pains have been taken to make it believed that it was compoſed with his knowledge and approbation. But this gentleman ſtill thinks, that not only the majority of the National Aſſembly, but alſo of the moſt reſpectable citizens, and of the national guards themſelves, are enemies to the idea of dethroning the King; and wiſh, *bona fide*, to maintain the Conſtitution to which they have ſworn; and that they diſapprove of all tu-

multuous aſſemblings of the people of the fauxbourgs, with a view to force or terrify the King to withdraw his veto from any decree of the Aſſembly, or on any other account. They highly diſapprove of that which took place on the twentieth of laſt June, when the mob entered the palace of the Tuileries, behaved in a very inſolent manner, and when the lives of the King and Queen were in imminent danger.

It is imagined, however, that ſomething of the ſame kind is intended to-morrow by the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs, in conjunction with about twelve or fourteen hundred fœderés, who lately arrived from Marſeilles and from Brittany.

But the national guards being now aware of this intention, and having, no doubt, received inſtructions how to act, it is probable that the attempt will not be made; or, if it is, will prove abortive; in which caſe, like moſt unſucceſsful inſurrections,

it

it will tend to ſtrengthen, inſtead of weakening the hands of Government.

I am alſo informed, that beſides a complete battalion of Swiſs, whoſe barracks are in the Carouſel adjacent to the palace, a conſiderable number of diſbanded officers, and other perſons attached to the Court, ſleep every night within the walls of the palace itſelf, which ſeems more than ſufficient to prevent any effectual attempt from a diſorderly multitude: and I ſhould think it probable, that many of the citizens who were violent patriots at the beginning of the revolution, are now tired of the diſorderly ſtate of affairs, and think, that ſupporting the King is the moſt likely way of obtaining that tranquillity which they have ſo much need of. They may alſo think, with great reaſon, that thoſe who excite the populace in the ſuburbs, wiſh the ruin of the Conſtitution.

Between eleven and twelve at night, I

was diſturbed by a great noiſe in the ſtreets from the beating of drums and repeated huzzas. The landlord informs me, that orders have been given to all the citizens to illuminate their windows; that there is reaſon to apprehend an attack on the Chateau of the Tuileries; that the drum has beat to arms, and that the national guards are all at the alarm poſts of their reſpective departments. I went into the ſtreets, which are all illuminated—the Pont Neuf is covered with ſoldiers under arms—a large party of the national guards are alſo in poſſeſſion of the Pont Royal—nobody is allowed to paſs: yet all ſeems to be conducted with ſo much regularity, that whatever miſchief may have been intended, will, I hope, be prevented.

I was awaked about two in the morning by the ſound of the tocſin, and am informed by the people of the hotel, who have not been in bed, that the inhabitants

of

of the fauxbourgs St. Antoine, St. Marceau, St. Jacques, &c. are aſſembled; that they are joined by the fœderés from Marſeilles and Brittany, in the intention of marching to the Tuileries to require of the King to withdraw his veto from the decree of the National Aſſembly againſt the prieſts who refuſe the conſtitutional oath, and that for aſſembling an army of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris.

I hope they will be prevailed on to diſperſe without making an attempt ſo unconſtitutional. If the King is not allowed the exerciſe of his veto when he judges it expedient, to give it him was a mockery.

Auguſt 10.

Having fallen aſleep about three, we were awakened at nine by the firing of cannon—and were told, that the Chateau was attacked. Soon after, we heard the cry of "To arms, citizens, to arms! they

ſlaughter

ſlaughter your parents, your brethren, your ſons!" and we ſaw men running half frantic through the ſtreets, exclaiming in that manner. Lord Lauderdale, being ſtill indiſpoſed, could not go out; and my ſon remained at the hotel with him.

As ſoon as I was dreſſed I went into the ſtreets; a party of the national guards, with a number of citizens armed, were marching towards the Tuileries—another body of men followed ſoon after, dragging ſeveral cannons along the Quai de Mazarin, where I was, to the Pont Royal. Some men flying from the Tuileries along this bridge, were killed by the national guards before they reached that end to which the cannon were advancing. Thoſe cannon being mounted on the bridge, were repeatedly diſcharged againſt that part of the Chateau which looks to the Seine. Some women who ſtood near me on the Quai de Voltaire, as ſoon as they heard the firſt diſcharge,

diſcharge, fell a-clapping their hands, and cried, Bravo! Bravo!

In the mean time there was ſome firing of muſketry from the windows of the Louvre facing the river---a few people were killed and wounded on the keys. Thoſe who were on the ſide next the Louvre had run from the key to the brink of the river, that they might be ſheltered from the ſhot by the parapet. A party of national guards who marched along the Quai Mazarin, as often as they ſaw a group of people converſing together, called *Bas les motions**, and diſperſed them----the officer at the ſame time adviſing all who were without arms to retire to their houſes. A little after, as a

* No motions.——The queſtions moved and debated in clubs reſpecting the meaſures of Government, are called motions. From clubs and ſocieties, ſuch as the Jacobins, they were extended to coffee-houſes, particularly the Caffè de Foi in the Palais Royal; and at length the ſame kind of debates were carried on in the groups formed by people who met accidentally in the public walks and gardens. The guards did not think this a proper moment for ſuch debates or motions.

body

body of pikemen hurried paſt, one of them in a very deciſive ſtyle pointed me out as an ariſtocrate. Such an accuſation in the ſtreets of Paris, any time theſe four years, would have expoſed a man to inſult: in the preſent circumſtances, when execution is generally the immediate conſequence of accuſation, it might have proved fatal; but the valet de place, who accompanied me, declared, that ſo far from being an ariſtocrate, or any thing like it, I was un Anglais. "Bon!" cried the pikemen, and continued their courſe.

After this admonition I retired to the houſe of an acquaintance, in the Rue Jacob, from whence I went, a little after, to the Hotel de Moſcovie. In the ſtreets I met with great numbers of the national guards and fœderés returning home, all of them with pieces of the red uniform of the Swiſs guards who had been killed, ſtuck as trophies on the point of their bayonets.

An

An officer with a party of the national guards conducted Monſieur d'Affré, in a coach, to the priſon of the Abbaye, which is near our hotel. A lady, very genteelly dreſſed, was guarded through the ſtreets on foot, to the ſame priſon, a little before.

We were informed, " that in the courſe of the preceding night great preparations had been made at the Tuileries to repel the threatened attack from the fauxbourgs; that ſeveral thouſands of armed men had been introduced into the Chateau for that purpoſe, independent of the battalion of Swiſs guards; that many of the national guards had been practiſed on by the agents of the Court, to join the Swiſs, and thoſe of the Chateau, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of Chevaliers du Poignard, againſt the people; that while thoſe within the Tuileries were making preparations for the engagement that was expected in the morning, falſe patrols were detached all around,

around, under the ſemblance of patrols of the national guards to keep the peace, but, in reality, with the moſt hoſtile intentions againſt the citizens; that one of thoſe detachments had been met by a body of the national guards, a ſkirmiſh had enſued, moſt of the former had ſoon fled, but that many had been taken and carried priſoners to the guard-room at the Feuillans; that the people having heard of this, came in crowds early in the morning, inſiſting on their being delivered up to them; that a municipal officer had tried to prevent it, but his endeavours had proved vain; the corps de garde had been forced. Four of the priſoners, who were conſidered as the moſt guilty, becauſe they were diſguiſed in the uniform of the national guards, and armed with poniards and piſtols, had been cruelly ſlaughtered, and their heads cut off and carried on pikes; that the lives of the reſt had been ſpared at the entreaty of the

ſoldiers

ſoldiers who took them; that the people of the fauxbourgs, with the Marſeillois and Bretons, had marched to the ſquare of the Carouſel, and demanded admittance into the palace of the Tuileries; that the King, Queen, and Royal Family had retreated from the palace, and taken ſanctuary in the National Aſſembly; and that, in about three quarters of an hour after they were there, the Swiſs guards, and thoſe within the Chateau, had fired grape ſhot and muſketry on the people drawn up in the court of the Chateau, and continued a rolling fire of ten minutes; that the fœderés, ſupported by the people of the fauxbourgs, had rallied and attacked the defenders of the caſtle, had driven them out of it into the garden, where, in their flight, they had been ſlaughtered by the national guards, who now, both foot and horſe, took a decided part againſt the Court, and for the People. That a great number of the citizens and

fœderés

fœderés had been killed, as well as many of the Chevaliers du Poignard; but that very few of the Swiſs guards were left alive; for thoſe who, inſtead of flying into the garden or ſtreets, had ſought ſhelter in the apartments of the palace, had been maſſacred with the domeſtics of the King and Queen, and all, of whatever quality or denomination, who were ſuppoſed to favour their cauſe. We have alſo heard, with much regret, that an Abbé, I forget his name, the preceptor of the Prince Royal, was killed, with ſome Swiſs ſoldiers whom he had humanely attempted to ſave by concealing them in a cloſet of his apartment. Clermont Tonnerre, we hear, was alſo killed in the ſtreet."

Such is the account which, with ſome variations, we have heard this day.—All agree that the Swiſs began hoſtilities by giving the firſt fire on the people. It is even aſſerted, that they pretended to be well diſpoſed to the cauſe of the people,

ſhook

ſhook hands with ſome of them; and having thus thrown them off their guard, they moſt perfidiouſly fired on them.

This account, however, I do not credit, becauſe it is contrary to the character of the Swiſs, who are an honeſt and plain-dealing people; and becauſe, after the King and Royal Family had forſaken the caſtle, I can ſee no motive which the Swiſs could have for firing, but ſelf-defence. I therefore think it moſt probable, eſpecially conſidering the vivacity of the one people, and the phlegm of the other, that the French were the aggreſſors.

I ſhall endeavour to get a circumſtantial and accurate account of this action hereafter; but, at preſent, the accounts are ſo oppoſite, that nothing is to be depended on.

I have this day been witneſs to many intereſting, and even affecting ſcenes in the ſtreets. During the cannonade and noiſe

of the muſketry, the grief and anxiety of all for the friends and relations they knew to be then engaged, produced a moſt expreſſive ſilence in ſome, while the air was rent by the exclamations of others, particularly the women and children, who trembled for the lives of fathers, huſbands, and brothers, who had left their families at the firſt call to arms, and had not been ſeen ſince. When the action was over, and the national guards returning, many of the women ruſhed into the ranks to embrace and felicitate their huſbands and brothers on their ſafety. I ſaw one father of a numerous family met at his own door by his wife and children. After embracing each as they crowded around him, he entered the ſhop, carrying one of his children in each of his arms; his daughter following with his grenadier's cap in her hand, and his two little boys dragging his muſket.

August 11.

When the King and Queen entered the hall of the National Assembly, they were accompanied by the Dauphin, their daughter, and the Princess Elizabeth; and attended by the ministers and some members of the municipality of Paris.

The King, at first, placed himself at the side of the president, and said, "I am come hither to prevent a great crime—I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, Gentlemen."

The president answered, "that he might rely on the Assembly, who had sworn to die at their post in supporting the rights of the nation and of the constituted authorities."

It was observed by one of the members, that the King's presence put a restraint on the debates; on which he descended to the bar where his family was, and with them was conducted into a box on the right

hand of the preſident, called La Loge du Logographe, where ſeven or eight perſons uſed to ſit around a table to take down in writing the debates, and every thing remarkable which paſſed in the Aſſembly.

They had not been ſituated long there when the action began. The National Aſſembly is very near the place in which the engagement was. Several cannon bullets ſtruck the roof of the hall, and ſome muſket ſhot entered the windows. What intereſt all within muſt have taken in this action, will be eaſily imagined. Some members roſe and changed their ſeats when the cannon were firſt heard; but the preſident, calling to order, ſaid it was the duty of every member to remain with ſteadineſs at his poſt, and to ſerve his country to the beſt of his abilities. After this every member kept his place, except ſuch as were deputed on ſome particular buſineſs by the preſident.

The

The King ſaid to the preſident, that he had given orders to the Swiſs not to fire.

The firing of the cannon and muſkets continue. The Aſſembly remain ſilent for ſome time.

A member then made a motion, that it ſhould be immediately decreed, that all property and perſons ſhould be under the ſafeguard of the law and of the people.

This was applauded and decreed.

They next decreed an act or proclamation to all the citizens, inviting them to have confidence in their repreſentatives, who had ſworn to ſave the country.

Some time after the action was over, a deputation from the new choſen community of Paris appeared at the bar: this election had been made the preceding night; and the new elected council had uſurped the council chamber, and driven out the old, all but Petion, the mayor of Paris; Manuel, the procureur; and Danton, miniſter of juſtice:

they were preceded by three banners, on which were inſcribed, " Liberté! Patrie! Egalité!" One of them ſpoke as follows:

" Légiſlateurs! Ce ſont de nouveaux magiſtrats du peuple qui ſe préſentent à votre barre. Les dangers de la patrie ont provoqué notre nomination. Les circonſtances la conſacrent; et notre patriotiſme ſaura nous en rendre dignes. Le peuple, las enfin d'être depuis quatre ans l'éternel jouet des perfidies de la cour et des intrigans, a ſenti qu'il étoit tems d'arrêter l'empire ſur les bords de l'abyme.

" Légiſlateurs, il ne nous reſte plus qu'à le ſeconder. Nous venons ici en ſon nom vous demander des meſures de ſalut public. Petion, Manuel, et Danton ſont toujours nos collegues. Santerre eſt à la tête de la force armée. Que les traitres frémiſſent à leur tour! Ce jour eſt le triomphe des vertus civiques.

" Le ſang du peuple a coulé; des troupes étran-

étrangères, qui ne ſont reſtées dans nos murs que par un nouveau délit du pouvoir exécutif, ont tiré ſur les citoyens ; nos malheureux frères ont laiſſés des veuves et des orphelins.

" Le peuple, qui nous envoie vers vous, nous a chargés de vous déclarer, qu'il ne pouvoit reconnoître pour juge des meſures extraordinaires auxquelles la néceſſité et la réſiſtance à l'oppreſſion l'ont porté, que le peuple François, votre ſouverain et le notre, dans ſes aſſemblées primaires *."

This

* Legiſlators! The new magiſtrates of the people appear at your bar; the dangers of the country occaſioned our election; the circumſtances rendered it neceſſary, and our patriotiſm renders us worthy of it. The people, at length tired of being during four years the dupes of the perfidy of the Court, have thought it time to endeavour to ſave the empire on the brink of ruin.

Legiſlators, all we have to do is to aſſiſt the people. We come here, in their name, to be adviſed by you in meaſures for the public ſervice. Petion, Manuel, and

This addreſs, which was received with high applauſe by the people in the tribunes, muſt have been exceedingly offenſive to the King; yet I am told he heard it with apparent tranquillity, while the Queen ſhewed evident marks of indignation.

It was decreed that the preſent miniſters had loſt the confidence of the nation; and that the National Aſſembly ſhould appoint ſix new ones, none of whom were to be

Danton are ſtill our colleagues. Santerre is at the head of the armed force.

Let traitors tremble in their turn; this day is the triumph of civic virtue. Foreign troops, who have remained within our walls only by a new crime of the executive power, have fired upon the citizens. Our unhappy brethren have left behind them widows and orphans.

The people, who have deputed us to you, have given us in charge to declare, that they will acknowledge no other judges of the extraordinary meaſures which neceſſity and reſiſtance to oppreſſion obliged them to adopt, but the French people united in the primary aſſemblies.

taken

taken from its own body. But when they were about to proceed in the uſual form to this nomination, it was obſerved, that three patriotic miniſters lately diſmiſſed, and who carried with them the eſteem of the people, naturally preſented themſelves to their choice. It was immediately decreed, that Roland, Servan, and Claviere ſhould be appointed proviſionally.

This laſt word was added, becauſe the King may be reinſtated in his authority by the enſuing Convention; in which caſe he will have the right to confirm or reject them, and name others. Theſe three are for the home affairs, the war department, and contributions.

I went this morning to ſee the places where the action of yeſterday happened. The naked bodies of the Swiſs, for they were already ſtripped, lay expoſed on the ground. I ſaw a great number on the terrace, immediately before the palace of the Tuileries;

Tuileries; ſome lying ſingle in different parts of the gardens; and ſome in heaps, one above another, particularly near the terrace of the Feuillans.

The garden and adjacent courts were crowded with ſpectators, among whom there was a conſiderable proportion of women, whoſe curioſity it was evident was fully equal to their modeſty.

The bodies of the national guards, of the citizens of the fauxbourgs, and of the fœderés, have been already removed by their friends; thoſe of the Swiſs only lie expoſed in this ſhocking manner. Of about 800 or 1000 of theſe, who were yeſterday muſtered in the Tuileries, I am told there are not 200 left alive.

Seeing a number of people going up the grand ſtaircaſe of the palace, to ſee the ravage that was made in all the rooms by the action of yeſterday, I intermingled with the crowd, and had aſcended half way, when

when I heard the ſhrieks of ſome one above, and ſoon after the body of a man was carried down. I was told that he had been detected in the act of ſtealing ſome of the furniture belonging to the palace, and was inſtantly put to death by the people around him.

This expeditious method of executing juſtice removed all inclination of viſiting the royal apartments: I deſcended to the terrace, and took another melancholy walk among the bodies of thoſe whom I had ſeen two days before in all the pride of health and military pomp. In point of ſize and looks, I do not ſuppoſe there is a finer battalion of infantry in Europe than they formed at that time.

After they gave way, they were ſlaughtered by thoſe who kept aloof while they reſiſted. Some were purſued through the ſtreets, and dragged from the ſhops and houſes whither they fled for ſhelter. About

fifty or ſixty who aſked for quarter, were ſaved by the Marſeillois: they were delivered to the national guards, and conducted by them to the Maiſon de Ville. While thoſe unfortunate men were detained in the ſquare, waiting for orders from the municipality into what priſon they were to be confined, the multitude, enraged no doubt by the death of their friends and relations, and irritated at the ſight of the wounded citizens who were carrying to their houſes and to the hoſpitals, began to cry for vengeance on the priſoners; and at length, like a parcel of drunken ſavages, they burſt through the ranks of the national guards, and butchered the defenceleſs Swiſs in cold blood. I cannot deem the national guards guiltleſs. I have been told that they could not ſave the Swiſs without killing the citizens: but ſuch furies do not deſerve the name of citizens, and were infinitely more criminal than the Swiſs.

From

From the gardens of the Tuileries I walked through the centre gate of the palace into the court, and the Carouſel, where the action firſt began. At the very beginning, a number of the crowd were killed and wounded at the bottom of the great ſtairs, by an unexpected fire from the top of the firſt flight of ſtairs. Some of the Swiſs themſelves, who were intermingled and converſing with the people, were killed by this fire. The bodies of the Swiſs were lying in various parts of the area.

The barracks of the Swiſs guards, which divide this large area from the Carouſel, had been ſet on fire yeſterday, and are ſtill burning. Many of the bodies were thrown into the flames—I ſaw ſome half conſumed.

Sick at the ſight, I hurried from this ſcene of horror, and about mid-day I went to the National Aſſembly. While I waited at the door which enters to the Aſſembly from the garden of the Feuillans, for the

gentleman who was to procure me admittance, a long proceſſion advanced to the gate: it conſiſted of a number of perſons, ſome in the uniform of the national guards, and ſome in the dreſs of citizens, each of whom held a man in a white waiſtcoat, but without a coat, by the hand. The latter were generally pale and dejected; and the men under whoſe protection they were, encouraged and ſupported them.

I was immediately informed that a conſiderable number of the Swiſs were ſaved, and had been confined in the corps de garde of the poſt of the Feuillans: a mob, however, had begun to gather about the guard-room, and ſome horrid wretches among them cried aloud for the heads of thoſe unhappy ſoldiers. On this, it was deemed the beſt means for their ſafety to conduct them to the bar of the Aſſembly, and demand its protection.

Laſource haſtened to inform the Aſſembly

bly of the danger in which the poor Swiſs were, and to requeſt its protection; while Gorſas remained at the door of the guard-room haranguing the mob, and uſing every means which humanity inſpired, to prevent them from attacking the priſoners.

They were conducted accordingly from the guard-room to the Aſſembly door in the manner above mentioned, by ſome citizens, among whom was Laſource, and others of the deputies. I entered a little before the Swiſs, and got a ſeat in the body of the houſe among the members.

The King, Queen, with their ſon and daughter, and the Princeſs Elizabeth; the Princeſs Lamballe, and three or four other attendants, had remained in the Loge du Logographe, yeſterday, from nine in the morning till late at night. They had been then conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they had remained all night,

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and returned to the ſame Loge in the morning, when the Aſſembly met. My eyes were naturally directed to the box in which they were. From the place in which I ſat I could not ſee the King, but I had a full view of the Queen and the reſt of the Royal Family. Her beauty is gone! No wonder. She ſeemed to liſten with an undiſturbed air to the ſpeakers. Sometimes ſhe whiſpered to her ſiſter-in-law, and to Madame de Lamballe; once or twice ſhe ſtood up, and, leaning forward, ſurveyed every part of the hall. A perſon near me remarked, that her face indicated rage and the moſt provoking arrogance. I perceived nothing of that nature; although the turn of the debate, as well as the remarks which were made by ſome of the members, muſt have appeared to her highly inſolent and provoking. On the whole, her behaviour in this trying ſituation ſeemed full of propriety and dignified compoſure. I know

not whether the height from which this unhappy Princeſs has fallen, and her preſent deplorable ſituation, may not make me view her with additional intereſt and partiality; but I am ſurpriſed to find that the edge of that rancour which has prevailed in this country againſt her, ſeems to be in no degree blunted by her misfortunes.

It was impoſſible to look at the Prince Royal without reflecting that his lot, which no doubt has been conſidered as the higheſt of all prizes, was now, of a ſudden, and without any fault of his, changed into the moſt unfortunate that could be drawn in the lottery of life. At preſent he is too young to calculate the amount, or taſte the bitterneſs of the calamity which has befallen him; and ſeemed to me to ſuffer more from being ſo long confined in ſuch a narrow place, than from all that has happened beſides, either to his parents or himſelf.

My attention was drawn from the Royal Family to the Swiſs, as ſoon as they appeared at the bar. One of their own nation, as I ſuppoſed by his accent, addreſſed the Aſſembly in their favour: it was evidently the deſire of the members that they ſhould be ſaved; but all thoſe in the tribunes were not in the ſame diſpoſition---one exclaimed, "Ils ont aſſaſſiné nos freres*."

La Croix made a ſpeech, the tendency of which was to ſoften the minds of the people, and incline them to mercy.

Notwithſtanding which, ſome wretches from the tribunes called for juſtice and vengeance for the death of their friends.

The members in various parts of the hall ſpoke directly up to the people in the tribunes immediately above them, and ſeemed to entreat them to be more humane. One member near me ad-

* They aſſaſſinated our brethren.

dreſſed

dreſſed them in the moſt earneſt manner, aſſuring them, that the unhappy men at the bar were well diſpoſed towards the French nation; that they had acted from ignorance, and in obedience to thoſe whom they thought it their duty as ſoldiers to obey; but had they known that they were intended to be employed againſt the citizens, they would have refuſed even to remain in the Chateau.

This expoſtulation produced an effect on many, but a few ſtill murmured; on which a deputy loſt his temper ſo far as to addreſs that part of the gallery from whence the murmur proceeded, in angry terms. He was ſtopped by thoſe next him, who put him in mind, that this might irritate the people ſtill more, and prevent what he wiſhed: he ſat down, ſaying, "Ces gens ſont des bêtes féroces *."

* Theſe people are ferocious brutes.

I do not remember that I ever felt myſelf more affected than during this conteſt. I often threw my eyes into the Loge du Logographe. What muſt have been the feelings of the King and Queen! What thoſe of the poor Swiſs themſelves! While any of the members were ſpeaking in their favour, and aſſuring the people that they had acted from conſtraint, and never were the enemies of the French nation, they ſtretched out their arms in confirmation of what was ſaid. I was filled with indignation at the obduracy of ſome wretches in the galleries, who ſtill remained inexorable, although by far the greater part was now moved to compaſſion.

Lafource, at laſt, made an obſervation, which ſeemed to have great effect. It is not the people, ſaid he, who thirſt for the blood of thoſe men, but a few villains who excite you to maſſacre them for fear that they

they ſhould give teſtimony of the conſpiracies of the Court.

After all, however, La Croix propoſed that they ſhould not be immediately carried back to the guard-room, but remain in the Aſſembly till there ſhould be a certainty that the people without were diſperſed. They were ordered to take ſeats accordingly, which they did behind the deputies.

This meaſure occurred to La Croix, on hearing that ſome of the porters at the hotels who are called Swiſs, although moſt of them are Frenchmen, have been killed by the undiſcriminating fury of the mob.

The poor fellow who opens the gate of our hotel has taken the alarm, and begs that in future we may call him the Porter, and not the Swiſs. All of the ſame profeſſion in Paris follow his example; they have already removed the inſcription, "Parlez au Suiſſe," which is generally fixed on a board

at the gate of hotels, and put up in its ſtead, " Parlez au Portier."

The remaining three miniſters were elected by, what is called, Appel nominal. The majority of voices were for Le Brun for foreign affairs, Monge for the marine, and Danton as miniſter of juſtice.

I ſaw ſome of the miniſters, and Santerre, who is appointed commander in chief of the Pariſian national guards, take the oaths before I left the Aſſembly; and when I went away the Swiſs ſoldiers were ſtill in it; but on going out, I was ſorry to ſee a great number of men, whoſe aſpects I did not much like, ſtill ſurrounding the hall: this gave me uneaſineſs on account of the Swiſs. But I was informed in the evening, that ſome hours after I left the Aſſembly, it had been propoſed, that to ſecure the lives of the Swiſs, they ſhould be accompanied to the Hotel de Bourbon by the members of the Aſſembly. This was

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prevented by a number of the fœderés from Marſeilles, the very men whoſe intrepid attack had put the Swiſs to flight, appearing at the bar. "The Swiſs," ſaid they, "are no longer our enemies, we will eſcort them."

They were conveyed accordingly to the Palais de Bourbon, protected by their conquerors from the cowardly rage of thoſe who had ſhrunk from them when they were armed, and dared to attack them only now when they were defenceleſs priſoners.

The magnificent palace of the Condé family is, I underſtand, at preſent, a kind of military poſt. The Swiſs are ordered to be detained in ſome courts belonging to that palace, till a court martial ſhall finally determine their fate. This meaſure was propoſed by La Croix, by way of appeaſing the people; but there is no queſtion that the deſign is to acquit them all. I am told the number is above a hundred.

It is a relief to my mind that it has

ended ſo. I had many unpleaſant ſenſations this day while I remained in the Aſſembly, being anxious for the ſafety of the Swiſs, ſhocked at the ſavage diſpoſition manifeſted by ſome of the people in the galleries, and filled with indignation to ſee the legiſlators of a nation forced to entreat an act of juſtice and humanity from thoſe whom they have a right to command. This is the temporary effect of that diſorder which naturally attends a great convulſion.

I have already mentioned, that the Aſſembly diſplayed great firmneſs during the engagement yeſterday. When the cannon were firſt heard, one of the deputies exclaimed—"Do you hear! They are now endeavouring to deſtroy freedom, and reeſtabliſh deſpotiſm. Our enemies have been encouraged to this audacious attempt by our ſupineneſs. Let us rouſe with the people—let us ſwear to maintain Liberty and Equality."

On this, all the members ſtarted up, ſtretched forth their right hands, and pronounced, " Oui, nous le jurons *."

The enthuſiaſm inſtantly ſpread to the ſpectators in the galleries, and the cries of " Vive la liberté! Vive la nation †!" reſounded through the hall.

During the ſitting of yeſterday, the Aſſembly decreed, That the French Nation is invited to form a Conventional Aſſembly, of which the mode and time of election will be particulariſed hereafter.

That Louis XVI. is ſuſpended from his authority, till ſuch time as the Conventional Aſſembly ſhall decide on proper meaſures for ſecuring the bleſſing of freedom to the people.

The payment of the Civil Liſt is likewiſe ſuſpended.

* Yes, we ſwear.

† Liberty for ever! The country for ever!

The

The King and Royal Family are to remain under the immediate ſafeguard of the Aſſembly, and within the walls where it meets, till ſuch time as tranquillity is eſtabliſhed in Paris; and then they are to be conducted to the palace of Luxembourg, and there put under the protection of the citizens and of the laws.

All public officers, whether military or civil, who ſhall leave their poſts in the preſent moment of danger and alarm, are declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

Thoſe and other decrees of yeſterday were ſent to the 83 departments of France, by couriers who ſet out laſt night.

Auguſt 12.

On the night of the 10th, commiſſaries were ſent from the National Aſſembly to the armies to explain the motives of theſe decrees. Theſe commiſſaries have the

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power of pronouncing the ſuſpenſion of the general officers of whatever rank; they are enjoined to explain to officers and ſoldiers the decrees pronounced by the Aſſembly, and conciliate them to the preſent meaſures. Three in particular went off that night to the army commanded by La Fayette. It will not be a very eaſy taſk to reconcile that general to what has happened. It is by ſome people believed that the commiſſaries have orders to put him under arreſt. It is a bold meaſure to arreſt a popular general at the head of an army by whom he is beloved, and the Aſſembly have accordingly entruſted very bold men with the execution of it. Kerſaint, who is the perſon moſt to be depended on in the commiſſion, is a naval officer of great profeſſional merit, and who alſo has the reputation of being a man of ſenſe, courage, and integrity. Some people, however, think that the commiſſaries run a greater riſk of being

hanged

hanged by the orders of the general, than the general runs of being arreſted by theirs. At all events, France is at preſent in more extraordinary and more critical circumſtances than we have any record of any nation's having ever been. After having, by a miraculous effort, overthrown a vaſt fabric of deſpotiſm, and formed a new ſyſtem of limited monarchy, the people, whether with or without reaſon, I cannot yet determine, become at once convinced that their King is betraying them; they attack his palace, confine his perſon, and ſuſpend his authority. In the mean time, the Legiſlative Aſſembly thinking themſelves juſtified by neceſſity in going thus far, and unwilling to give an example of an uſurpation of power, decree a National Convention to meet within ſeven weeks, and that their own diſſolution ſhall take place as ſoon as the Convention is formed:—the elections for that purpoſe to go on at a time when the

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nation itſelf is threatened by Ruſſia, Sardinia, Spain, and a coalition of the Princes of Germany; and when the frontiers of France are attacked by the numerous diſciplined forces of Auſtria and Pruſſia, abetted by Princes of the blood, at the head of 22,000 emigrants.

In ſuch circumſtances, France may ſay with Frederic the Second of Pruſſia, "I know not whether I ſhall ſurvive this war; but, ſure I am, my enemies can obtain no glory by overcoming me."

The National Aſſembly have decreed, that the ſtatues in the public places ſhall be deſtroyed, and monuments in honour of Liberty ſubſtituted in their ſtead. The ſtatue of Louis XIII. in the Place Royal, thoſe of Louis XIV. in the Places Vendome and Victoire, with that of Louis XV. in the beautiful opening which bore his name, but which, I underſtand, is to bear it no longer, are already overturned, and are to be removed.

moved. All the amiable and popular qualities of Henry IV. will not ſave his ſtatue on the Pont Neuf from the ſame fate. To the amateurs who lament over this as barbarous and Gothic, it is anſwered, " L'art en gémira peut-être, mais pour un chef-d'œuvre perdu, la Liberté en reproduira mille *."

As the Aſſembly have only ſuſpended the exerciſe of the regal power, but have not aboliſhed royalty, this decree againſt the ſtatues is rather exceeding the limits they had traced to themſelves: it is intended no doubt as a hint to the Conventional Aſſembly.

But whatever reaſon the French may have for proceeding in the manner they do with reſpect to their own kings or their ſtatues, I ſee no wiſdom or neceſſity in their provoking the hatred of all the crowned heads

* The Arts may ſuffer for a time; but for one maſter-piece that is deſtroyed, Liberty will produce thouſands.

in

in Europe. They ſeem to have ruſhed a little wantonly into their preſent war with the Emperor. But if they can give good political reaſons for that, there certainly is none for their induſtriouſly drawing on themſelves the enmity of all other monarchies.

Yet thoſe of the beſt talents among them may be accuſed of this imprudence. Briſſot, in a diſcourſe, pronounced on the 9th of July laſt, " Sur les cauſes des dangers de la patrie," talking of the combination of princes againſt France, uſes the following expreſſion: " Ces puiſſances ne tendent pas à prendre quelques villes, à gagner quelques batailles, à s'arrondir, à s'aggrandir. Non, une idée bien plus profonde les dirige et les rallie. Le ſyſteme de liberté qui gouverne la France les inquiete: ils y voient une ſource intariſſable d'où s'écouleront, tôt ou tard, des torrens qui doivent renverſer tous les trônes de l'Europe: ils voient que les Rois ſont mûrs, et ils veulent prévenir l'époque où ils

doivent tomber. C'eſt donc ici, Meſſieurs, une guerre à mort entre la royauté et la liberté. Les tyrans de l'Europe veulent nous écraſer, ou périr *."

And Barbaroux, one of the deputies from Marſeilles, in anſwer to an inſinuation from ſome of the members, that the fœderés from that town had deſigns againſt the life of the King, ſaid this morning in the Aſſembly, " Eh, Meſſieurs, les Marſeillois n'aiment pas les rois, car ils ſont les fléaux de la terre: mais ils ne s'en debarraſſeront jamais par un crime; ils attendront le jugement du peuple ſouverain: et d'ailleurs Louis XVI. a

The chief aim of thoſe powers is not to take a few towns, or to gain battles, or to increaſe their dominions. A more ſerious idea directs and unites them. That ſyſtem of liberty which governs France, diſquiets them; in it they ſee an inexhauſtible ſource from which torrents will flow, which ſooner or later muſt overwhelm all the thrones in Europe. They ſee that Kings are ripe, but they wiſh to poſtpone the time of their falling. This, Gentlemen, is a mortal war between royalty and liberty—the tyrants of Europe muſt cruſh us, or periſh.

creuſé lui-même le tombeau de la royauté : c'eſt le ſeul bien qu'il nous ait fait *."

It is impoſſible for me, a ſtranger juſt arrived at Paris, to know whether the treachery imputed to the King is well or ill founded; but I ſee the neceſſity of charging him with it, to juſtify the preſent meaſures in the eyes of the public. At Paris they ſeem inclined enough to believe the whole. Whether the armies and provinces are in the ſame diſpoſition, is yet to be ſeen.

Auguſt 13.

The primary aſſemblies for chooſing the electors are appointed for the 26th of this month. The electors or deputies for the

* I acknowledge, Gentlemen, that we men of Marſeilles are not fond of Kings, for they are the ſcourges of the earth; but we will never rid ourſelves of them in a criminal manner: we will wait for the judgment of the Sovereign People. Beſides, Lewis the Sixteenth has himſelf dug the grave of royalty; it is the only good he ever did us.

enſuing Convention are to aſſemble on the 2d of September. The members choſen for the Convention, which are not to exceed in number the preſent Legiſlative Aſſembly, are to meet at Paris on the 20th of the ſame month.

The former diſtinction of the citizens into actifs et non actifs is ſuppreſſed: all that is neceſſary to entitle a man to a vote is, that he is 21 years of age, a Frenchman, who has lived for one year in the country on his own revenue, or the produce of his labour, and is not in a ſtate of ſervitude. The electors are to have three livres a day during their miſſion, and are allowed at the rate of one livre a league for the diſtance from their uſual place of reſidence to that in which the election of members for their department is to be held.

The only conditions requiſite for eligibility, either as elector or deputy, are thoſe above mentioned, whatever his profeſſion

is

or has been. The citizens in the primary aſſemblies, and the electors in the electoral aſſembly, are to take the oath to maintain Liberty and Equality, or die in defending them.

The above regulations will no doubt be obſerved—although they are not *decreed*, but only recommended by the preſent Aſſembly, who do not aſſume the right of ordaining a form for the exerciſe of ſovereignty in the formation of a National Convention.

Inſtead of *decreeing*, therefore, the Aſſembly merely *invite* the people to obſerve this method.

In the mean time, I occaſionally ſee people who, when the Convention is mentioned, ſhrug their ſhoulders and ſmile, in a manner which plainly implies, that in their opinion there will be no Conventional Aſſembly. And one perſon aſſured me in a whiſper, that if there ſhould happen to be a Convention at Paris, on or about the 20th

of September, he was convinced it would be, compoſed of Pruſſiens actifs et citoyens paſſifs.

This, however, does not ſeem the opinion of the people in general. The public walks are crowded with men, women, and children of all conditions, with the moſt gay unconcerned countenances imaginable. A ſtranger juſt come to Paris, without having heard of the late tranſactions, and walking through the gardens of the Tuileries, Place de Louis XVI. and Champs Eliſées, would naturally imagine, from the friſky behaviour and cheerful faces of the company he meets, that this day was a continuation of a ſeries of days appointed for diſſipation, mirth, and enjoyment; he could not poſſibly imagine that the ground he is walking over was ſo lately covered with the bodies of ſlaughtered men; or that the gay lively people he ſaw were ſo lately overwhelmed with ſorrow and diſmay.

I drove

I drove to many places in Paris this morning. The epithet *royal*, which was formerly ſo profuſely aſſumed and inſcribed with pride and oſtentation, is now carefully effaced from every ſhop, magazine, auberge, or hotel; all thoſe alſo who were ſo vain of announcing over their doors that they were the tradeſmen of the King or Queen, or in any way employed by them, have removed every word, emblem, or ſign which could revive the remembrance of ſuch a connection; and at preſent a taylor would rather advertiſe that he was breeches-maker to a ſans culottes, than to a prince of the blood royal.

Above the great gate of the church of Notre Dame, are the figures in ſtone of twenty-ſix Kings of France, from Childebert the Firſt to Philip Auguſt. I was told that in this general fury againſt kings, all thoſe venerable perſonages had been hewn to pieces by the people. I had the curioſity

to go to the cathedral on purpoſe, to ſee whether abſurd zeal had been carried this length, and had the ſatisfaction of finding this royal ſociety ſafe and uninjured by any hand but that of Time.

The ridiculous gigantic ſtatue of St. Chriſtopher, with the Bon Dieu upon his ſhoulders, which I remember to have ſtood formerly within the church, is now removed; but I believe the revolution cannot claim the merit of this improvement, as it was made before it began.

From the Nôtre Dame I accompanied a young man to the Carmelites in the Rue St. Jacques; he had a curioſity to ſee the famous Magdalene by Le Brun. The utmoſt exceſs of grief is ſtrongly expreſſed in this picture, particularly in the eyes and upper part of the face; but I cannot believe the ſtory, ſo often repeated, that the Ducheſs de la Valiere, who retired to this convent when ſhe found herſelf ſupplanted in the affections

affections of Louis XIV. by Madame de Monteſpan, ever ſat for this picture. How could it be believed that a woman who retired from the world, whether from diſappointed love, or devotion, would aſſume, like an actreſs, the features of exceſſive ſorrow, and ſit in a choſen attitude, that a painter might draw her in a particular character? Vanity prompts people to this kind of conſtraint every day, but real grief or devotion, never.

If ſhe never ſat for it then, it is not probable that it has much reſemblance of Madame de la Valiere: yet more people are drawn to ſee it, from the notion of its being her portrait, than from the pleaſure they take in viewing a fine picture.

The man who ſhewed us the Carmelite church, ſaid there were at preſent forty nuns in the convent, all of whom had the liberty to leave it, but they choſe to remain. "They are very old, I ſuppoſe," ſaid I.

"On the contrary," replied the man, "there are ſome of them young and handſome."

If there is any merit in retiring from the world and becoming uſeleſs to ſociety, theſe nuns have a claim to more now than formerly, ſince they do that ſpontaneouſly, which before they poſſibly could not help.

Auguſt 14.

Although the French are leſs ſubject to ennui than any other people, yet they are extremely inventive of expedients to prevent it. Of all the contrivances for that purpoſe I ever heard of, one of the moſt ſingular was what I was informed of this morning.

As I ſtood on the key of the Louvre, a battalion, part of which was already on the Pont Royal, marched paſt; we were told that the mayor of Paris was in the front; they were conducting ſome Swiſs to the Abbaye. While I was contemplating this ſcene, a man, who ſeemed at leaſt ſeventy years of age, entered into converſation

with me: a girl of about ten or eleven held him by the arm. He praiſed the appearance of the men; and the young girl was delighted with the rough caps and immenſe mouſtaches of the grenadiers.

"Mademoiſelle is your daughter?" ſaid I.

"No," anſwered he, "I do not know that I ever had any children, *although* I have lived all my life a bachelor. This poor little girl," added he, "has lived with me ſeveral years. She was quite deſtitute, and I took her from charity. People are often at a loſs how to amuſe themſelves, particularly towards the decline of life. I have had a great deal of pleaſure, for my own part, in teaching this little girl mathematics."

A young gentleman who was preſent burſt into laughter; and the old man perceiving that I could with difficulty refrain, "I ſee," ſaid he good-humouredly, "that you do not credit what I tell you; but it is literally true. I have found much amuſe-

amuſement in inſtructing this child in algebra and the mathematics. She is a very apt ſcholar, as you ſhall ſee.

" Tell me, my dear, what are the three angles of any triangle equal to?"

" Two right angles," anſwered ſhe.

" Exactly," ſaid the old man; " and pray, what is the cube root of eight?"

" Two," anſwered the girl.

" And what is the cubic number of four?" reſumed he.

She immediately replied, " Sixty-four."

Having enjoyed our ſurpriſe a little, and finding we were going a different road, he took his leave of us in high ſpirits, and walked away with the girl holding his arm. I mention this rencontre merely for its ſingularity, and not by way of advice to men in the decline of life. For, although it ſeems to have ſucceeded wonderfully with this particular old man, it would be raſh to infer, that it would be equally ſafe and ſalutary

lutary for every old man to amuſe himſelf in teaching a young girl mathematics.

On quitting him I walked to the National Aſſembly. One of the cannoneers who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action of the 10th, on the ſide of the people, was at the bar: a conſiderable quantity of ſilver plate had been taken by this man from thoſe who had ſtolen it from the palace; and having been brought by him to the Aſſembly, now lay on the table.

Many inſtances of the ſame diſintereſted ſpirit were exhibited, as I have been repeatedly told by thoſe who were preſent in the Aſſembly immediately after the engagement. The jewels of the Queen, many maſſy pieces of plate, very valuable pieces of furniture which could have been eaſily concealed, all the ſilver utenſils belonging to the chapel, were brought to the Aſſembly by thoſe who made the firſt irruption into the palace. Some poor fellows who had

had not whole clothes on their backs, brought little ſacks of gold and ſilver coin, and depoſited them unopened in the hall of the Aſſembly. One ſoldier brought his hat full of louis, and emptied it on the table.

It is in the times of great political ſtruggles and revolutions, that the minds of men are moſt apt to be exalted above the ſelfiſh conſiderations of ordinary life: thoſe are the epochs of great virtues as well as of great vices. It is an error to imagine, that men of the loweſt rank in life are unſuſceptible of heroic and generous ſentiments. All who are ſuſceptible of enthuſiaſm are capable of being actuated by them. It is the minions of fortune, thoſe who have been pampered from their infancy by the hand of luxury, and early accuſtomed to every kind of profuſion, whoſe minds ſink into torpor for want of exertion; it is ſuch as thoſe that are the moſt likely to be unſuſceptible

ſuſceptible of generous ſentiments, and incapable of heroic efforts.

Auguſt 15.

I went this morning to call on M. Gautier the banker. As I croſſed the court to go to his office, I met an old gentleman whoſe face I thought I had ſeen before, but was not certain. We ſaluted each other without ſpeaking. When I entered, I was informed by M. Gautier it was the Abbé Raynal. I was happy at this information, becauſe I had heard, that happening to have ſlept the preceding night in the palace of the Tuileries, he had been killed on the morning of the 10th, as I fear many real friends of liberty were.

Although the National Aſſembly had decreed, that the Royal Family ſhould be lodged in the palace of Luxembourg, this was delayed, becauſe a deputation from the Section des Quatre Nations repreſented to the

the Aſſembly, that there are ſubterraneous paſſages belonging to that building, by which the King might be carried off.

On the ſame day another petition was preſented of a ſingular nature indeed. In this the Aſſembly are reproached for having decreed only the ſuſpenſion of the King, when all France wiſhes his being dethroned. " Pourquoi," continue theſe modeſt petitioners, " attendre la Convention Nationale ? Le peuple eſt là pour ſanctionner vos decrets. Louis XVI. eſt atteint de la malédiction nationale ; il a lâchement fui de ſon palais, pour laiſſer plus audacieux les aſſaſſins du peuple ; il n'eſt venu dans votre ſein que pour dicter votre arrêt, ſi ſes agens euſſent été victorieux. Des veuves, des enfans deſolés vous demandent vengeance. Qui de vous n'eſt pas diſpoſé à devenir le juge ſévére du ſcélérat Louis XVI ? Commandez vos généraux de faire lire

à tous

à tous les peuples la déclaration des droits de l'homme, et de proclamer la guerre à tous les tyrans *."

The terms in which thoſe petitioners mention the King, are equally odious on account of their barbarity and their falſehood.

They are alſo inſolent to the National Aſſembly, which has declared, that not preſuming to determine what the will of the nation is reſpecting the King, this

* Why wait for the National Convention? The people are ready to ſanction your decrees. Lewis XVI. is covered with the curſes of his country. He ſhamefully abandoned his palace, that the aſſaſſins of the people might act more boldly. He came among you for no other purpoſe but to pronounce your condemnation, if his troops had been victorious. Widows and wretched infants call to you for vengeance. Can any of you be unwilling to become the ſevere judge of the flagitious Lewis? Give orders to your generals that the declaration of the rights of man be read to every people, and let them declare war againſt all tyrants.

point is left to the deciſion of the nation itſelf, to be expreſſed by the organ of a Convention of its own chooſing. This is all unneceſſary, ſay the petitioners. What you do *not know* we will tell you. All the people wiſh the King to be dethroned; take our word for it, and ſave the trouble of calling a Conventional Aſſembly.

If, however, this addreſs to the Aſſembly is intended as an *order*, which I am informed many late petitions are, then all the expreſſions are not ſo improper; we are then only ſurpriſed at its being entitled a *petition*.

The Commune de Paris, which is a council or aſſembly compoſed of members from the 48 ſections of Paris, not approving of the Luxembourg for the King's reſidence, ſent a deputation to the bar of the National Aſſembly, where Manuel, their procureur, ſaid, " La France eſt libre, car Louis eſt ſujet de la loi. Nous venons

vous

vous propoſer pour ſa demeure le Temple— nous vous propoſons de le faire conduire avec *tout le reſpect dû à l'infortuné**," &c.

The Aſſembly applauded his ſpeech, and agreed to the propoſal; but it were to be wiſhed that the treatment of the unfortunate family had correſponded with the ſentiments which the Aſſembly approved.

The lodge or box in which the royal family ſat for three days from morning till night, is a ſmall room of about nine or ten feet ſquare, at the preſident's right hand, and ſeparated from the hall of the Aſſembly by ſmall iron bars: the entry is behind from the corridor into a kind of ſmall cloſet, through which you paſs into the lodge. This cloſet was the only place into which they could retire; and they came into the lodge at nine of the morn-

* France is free, becauſe Lewis is ſubject to law.—We propoſe the Temple for his reſidence, and we wiſh him to be conducted thither with all the regard due to the unfortunate.

ing of the 10th, and remained till midnight, when they were conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they paſſed the night, returning to the lodge about ten in the morning.

On the 11th and 12th they retired at about nine or ten at night; and on the 13th they were conducted to their priſon at the Temple. As this ſmall cloſet was the only place to which they could retire, they were under the neceſſity of taking every refreſhment they needed through the day, there. On the 10th the King ate nothing but a little biſcuit and a glaſs of lemonade; the Queen, nothing but a baſon of ſoup. On the ſubſequent days they had their dinner from a neighbouring traiteur, which was ſerved in the ſame little cloſet. Their ſole occupation, during all this time, was hearing the debates of the Aſſembly. This would probably have been a ſevere puniſhment, although perſonal abuſe had been abſtained

abſtained from; which, however, was not always the caſe. One member*, in the midſt of his harangue, ſaid, "that all the bloodſhed of that day, and all the miſeries of the country, were owing to the perjury and treaſon of that traitor," pointing to the King. This certainly was not obſerving *tout le reſpect dû à l'infortuné*. To give way to ſuch an outrage againſt a man, not to ſay a King, in this unhappy ſituation, required the heart of a tiger, and the manners of a *Capuchin*.

Some time after the firing on the 10th was quite over, the Queen, being impatient to know the particulars of what had paſſed, deſired a young man who had the care of the box, with whom I have converſed, to go to the Tuileries and Carouſel, and bring her an account of what he ſaw. The young man went; and without making a very minute ſurvey, or walking over half the

* Chabot, formerly a Capuchin Friar.

ground on which the fighting had been, he reported that he had counted a hundred and twenty dead bodies. The Queen ſhed tears at this report, and aſked him no more queſtions on that ſubject.

It muſt ſeem ſtrange, the whole Aſſembly being witneſs to the uncomfortable and indecent ſituation of the royal family for ſo long a ſpace of time, that none of them propoſed to remedy it; which might have been done, in ſome degree, by their having the uſe of ſome other ſmall rooms which are under the ſame roof with the Aſſembly hall.

I ſuppoſe that thoſe who wiſhed it, were afraid to ſhew any attention to the royal family; and thoſe who could have done it with ſafety, wanted the inclination; for it is evident that a conſiderable part of the members, ſince the deciſive affair of the 10th, are under perſonal apprehenſion. Thoſe who voted in favour of M. la Fayette have been threatened by the populace.

Gorſas,

Gorſas, the editor of the Courrier, has been applied to, to publiſh their names, which he humanely refuſes to do. The only meaning of ſuch requeſt certainly is to point them out to the fury of the mob.

When the royal family were conducted from their very narrow apartment in the Aſſembly to the Temple, the affluence of people was prodigious; they exacted that the windows of the carriage ſhould be kept down—this was complied with. In going through the Place Vendôme, whether it happened from the mere confluence of people, or by premeditated deſign, the carriage was ſtopped a conſiderable time near the overturned ſtatue of Louis XIV.

The Queen was thought to throw diſdainful looks on the people. Whether this was really the caſe, or imaginary, I know not; but I am aſſured that Petion, the mayor of Paris, who was in the coach, begged of the Queen to look with more mildneſs, as ſome

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of them ſeemed provoked, and he dreaded the conſequence.

Her Majeſty after this threw down her eyes without looking at the people at all.

The King ſeemed leſs ſorrowful or penſive. When they were going into the carriage at the Aſſembly hall, ſome one ſaid, they were putting too many into the coach. On which his Majeſty, with a look of good humour, replied, "Not at all; M. Petion knows that I can ſupport a much longer journey with a great many in the carriage."

This alluded to his return to Paris after being ſtopped at Varennes, when the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth, with Barnave and Petion, were all in the ſame carriage.

There were ſome cries of Vive la Nation! as they paſſed through the ſtreets; but on the whole the people were more ſilent and leſs tumultuous than was expected by many,

and

and the royal family arrived ſafely at the Temple.

The Princeſs Lamballe, Madame Tourzelle, governeſs of the royal children, and ſome other women of the Queen's family, were carried to the Temple at the ſame time.

There have been a great number of perſons arreſted ſince the 10th. All thoſe who are known to have paſſed the night between the 9th and 10th in the palace of the Tuileries, or are ſuſpected of it, are ſearched for with diligence. Two men accuſed of an intention of aſſaſſinating Petion have been taken up, and are in priſon. What proofs there are of ſuch an intention, I know not; but it is a very ſerious misfortune, at this particular time, to be under the ſuſpicion.

While I was in the Aſſembly, ſome members propoſed a call of the houſe, by way of aſcertaining who were preſent during the late important ſittings. It was at firſt agreed for the morrow at mid-day; but one calling

out " this night at midnight," this laſt propoſal, which ſeems a little whimſical, was adopted.

The extreme ſenſibility and vivacity of the French prompt them too often to decide on ſudden impulſes, without taking time to weigh and deliberate. In the preſent inſtance, a rapidity of deciſion can be of no conſequence; but they ſometimes ſhew the ſame quickneſs in matters of ſerious import.

A little Engliſh phlegm would be of uſe in their councils.

I underſtand that thoſe appointed to examine the papers of Monſ Laporte have found matters of accuſation againſt the King, and the miniſter himſelf; and alſo ſome curious papers concerning the myſterious buſineſs of the pearl necklace, and Madame de la Motte.

Auguſt 16.

Having made it my buſineſs, ever ſince I have

have been in France, to take every opportunity of converſing with the people, I find a great alteration, I will not venture to ſay in their ſentiments, but aſſuredly in their diſcourſe.

Before the 10th of this month, many ſpoke in favour of the King, and juſtified his giving the veto to the two decrees of the National Aſſembly—one reſpecting a camp of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the other regarding the prieſts who refuſed to take the oaths to the Conſtitution; they ſaid, " the King had a right, by the Conſtitution, to make uſe of this power of rejecting decrees at his diſcretion, and that none but ſeditious perſons would attempt to force his conſent."

They blamed thoſe, as ſuch, who had excited the tumultuous proceſſion of the inhabitants of the ſuburbs on the 20th of June; lamented that the executive power was not ſtrong enough to puniſh them; hoped that this

this would ſoon be the caſe; and declared their belief that the King was calumniated by factious men who were enemies to the Conſtitution, while he ſincerely wiſhed to maintain it according to the oaths he had taken.

Some tradeſmen who did duty as national guards have acknowledged to me, that when called to arms on the night of the 9th, they conſidered that the purpoſe for which they were aſſembled, was to repel any attack on the palace, and defend the perſons of the royal family; which duty it was their intention to perform, till they heard the general cry that the Swiſs were maſſacring the people; and then they joined with the citizens againſt the Swiſs, and thoſe in the caſtle.

The truth, I have reaſon to believe, is, that few of the national guards took part in the action till the palace was forced, and the Swiſs with all within it began to fly;

and

and if the fœderés and thoſe from the ſuburbs had been diſperſed, a great part of the national guards would have declared in that event, as they did in the other, for the victorious party.

Now every body ſeems to have the ſame ſentiments, and hold the ſame language, namely, that the King was in correſpondence with the emigrant princes, and betraying the country to the enemy. Certain papers have been found in the palace, which, it is ſaid, make it very clear. On this ſubject I have not as yet been able to form a decided opinion; nor am I at all certain that the ſentiments, which I hear announced by thoſe who have ſurer grounds of judging, are conformable to their real opinion; for it is by no means ſafe to avow any way of thinking but one.

Great pains are taken to convince the people at large of the treachery of the court, and that a proſcription was made, and a

maſſacre

maſſacre intended, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots, in caſe the court had been victorious: this is not only inſinuated in the journals, but paſted up in printed papers on the walls all over Paris.

In the mean time, in the gardens of the Tuileries, in the Place de Louis XV. and Palais Royal, men are ſeen mounted on chairs haranguing to little circles which form around them: the continual theme of theſe orators, who are no doubt hired for the purpoſe, is the treachery of the King, and the profligacy of the Queen, whom they generally diſtinguiſh by the appellation of Monſieur and Madame Veto.

When I ſee ſuch artful induſtry to enrage the people againſt the King and Queen, and hear of intended maſſacres without any proofs, ſo far from being convinced of the truth of what is ſo aſſiduouſly circulated, I rather dread that all theſe pains are taken to

prepare

prepare the people's minds for meaſures which cannot yet be avowed.

The influence of theatrical entertainments on the public mind is too powerful to be neglected on the preſent occaſion: the muſic, the pantomime, and the new pieces brought forth, all are calculated to inſpire ſentiments and paſſions favourable to the ſecond *Revolution*, for the affair of the 10th is already dignified with that name.

I am much miſtaken, however, if there was not a conſiderable riſk of its terminating ſo as that, inſtead of a revolution, it would have been called a rebellion; in which caſe we ſhould have heard a very different language from the ſame mouths at the theatres.

Auguſt 17.

I have had a great curioſity to ſee the famous club of Jacobins ever ſince my arrival at Paris, which was not gratified till

this

this evening, when one of the members procured me admiſſion.

This ſociety originated in a ſmall number of deputies from Brittany, who occaſionally met at Verſailles in the year 1789. Many deputies from other provinces, the moſt zealous for liberty, ſoon joined them; and even ſome of the ſame diſpoſition who were not deputies, were admitted into the ſociety, which then had the name of Comité Breton.

In this ſociety it was firſt propoſed to conſtitute the majority of the Eſtates General into a National Aſſembly.

When the National Aſſembly was tranſferred to Paris, this ſociety held its meetings in the convent of Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and aſſumed the name of Societé de la Revolution, and afterwards that of Amis de la Conſtitution; but they are generally called ſimply Jacobins. A great number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed for talents of the

Aſſembly

Aſſembly, as well as of the citizens of Paris, were gradually elected members; and the number, I am told, has been above 1400.

The avowed buſineſs of this ſociety is to deliberate and debate on ſubjects of government, and watch over the general intereſts of liberty.

Societies of the ſame name and nature are eſtabliſhed all over France, which hold a regular correſpondence with the parent ſociety at Paris—and, by mutually communicating information and advice, act with wonderful efficacy on important occaſions.

M. Alexander Lameth and M. Duport, as I have been informed, were the firſt who propoſed the project of eſtabliſhing ſocieties of the ſame kind with the Jacobins of Paris all over France, and having a regular correſpondence with them.

This conſtant intercourſe accounts for the immediate and univerſal approbation which has been given through all the de-

partments to certain meaſures of the Aſſembly; which muſt have appeared very extraordinary to foreigners, unacquainted with this conſtant rapid circulation of ſentiment. I underſtand there are at leaſt ten thouſand ſocieties of this kind in France.

Moſt queſtions of great importance are diſcuſſed in the Jacobin ſociety of Paris, before they are introduced into the National Aſſembly; and the ſucceſs they are likely to have in the ſecond, may be generally known by that which they have had in the firſt.

The hall in which the Jacobins meet, is fitted up nearly in the ſame ſtyle with that of the National Aſſembly. The tribune, or pulpit from which the members ſpeak, is oppoſite to that in which the preſident is ſeated: there is a table for the ſecretaries and galleries for a large audience of both ſexes, in the one as in the other. Men are appointed, who walk through the hall to

command

command, or rather ſolicit, ſilence when the debate becomes turbulent at the club of Jacobins, in the ſame manner as the huiſſiers do at the National Aſſembly, and uſually with as little effect: the bell of the preſident, and voices of the huiſſiers, are equally diſregarded in ſtormy debates at both Aſſemblies: it is doubtful if Æolus himſelf, who

> Luctantes ventos tempeſtateſque ſonoras
> Imperio premit,

could at once ſilence certain turbulent members, when

> Illi indignantes magno cum murmure——
> Circum clauſtra fremunt.

I have been told that ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members in point of talent and character, have lately withdrawn from this ſociety, and that it is not now on ſuch a reſpectable footing as it has been. Roberſpierre, who was a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and of courſe cannot be of the preſent, has great ſway in the club of

Jacobins, by which means his influence in the Aſſembly, and in the common council of Paris, is very conſiderable.

M. la Fayette, in his famous letter of the 16th of June, from the camp of Maubeuge, ſpeaking of this ſociety, ſays, " La faction Jacobine a cauſé tous les deſordres; c'eſt elle que j'en accuſe hautement. Organiſée comme un empire à part, et aveuglément dirigée par quelques chefs ambitieux, cette ſecte forme une corporation diſtincte au milieu du peuple François, dont elle uſurpe les pouvoirs, en ſubjugant ſes repréſentans et ſes mandataires *."

This letter to the National Aſſembly, and his leaving his army and appearing in the Aſſembly on the 28th of June, turned the

* The Jacobin faction has produced all the diſorders; it is that ſociety which I loudly accuſe. Organized like an empire, and blindly governed by ſome ambitious men, this ſociety forms a diſtinct corporation in the middle of the French nation, whoſe power it uſurps and whoſe repreſentatives it ſubdues.

tide of popularity entirely againſt him; and there is at preſent a rumour that General la Fayette is going to march his army againſt Paris.

There was not, properly ſpeaking, a debate at the Jacobins to-day, but rather a ſeries of violent ſpeeches againſt him. I underſtand indeed, that of late the ſpeakers are generally of one opinion; for Roberſpierre's partiſans raiſe ſuch a noiſe when any one attempts to utter ſentiments oppoſite to what he is known to maintain, that the voice of the ſpeaker is drowned, and he is obliged to yield the tribune to another orator whoſe doctrine is more palatable.

The moſt univerſally agreeable motion that was made while I was preſent was, that a price ſhould be ſet on the head of M. la Fayette, and that *chaque citoyen pût couper ſus*; which is as much as to ſay, that any body that pleaſed to murder him ſhould be rewarded for ſo doing.

A little before the Aſſembly broke up, one of the Marſeillois, who ſeemed not to be an officer, mounted the tribune: he ſaid there was a report that the commiſſioners from the Aſſembly to La Fayette's army were arreſted at Sedan; if ſo, that he and others of his countrymen intended to aſk permiſſion of the National Aſſembly to march to Sedan, and return with the heads of thoſe villains who had preſumed to arreſt their commiſſioners.—" Nous ſommes," continued he, " des pauvres gens qui couchent ſur la paille; mais quand il s'agit du bonheur de la patrie, nous nous montrerons des hommes du dix d'Août *."

There were abundance of women in the galleries; but as there were none in the body of the hall where the members are ſeated, I was ſurpriſed to ſee one enter and take her

* We are but poor fellows, who lie upon ſtraw; but when our country is in danger, we will diſplay the ſame ſpirit we did on the 10th of Auguſt.

[hat]

ſeat among them: ſhe was dreſſed in a kind of Engliſh riding-habit, but her jacket was the uniform of the national guards. On enquiry, I was informed that the name of this amazon is Mademoiſelle Theroigne: ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf in the action of the 10th, by rallying thoſe who fled, and attacking a ſecond time at the head of the Marſeillois.

She ſeems about one or two and thirty, is ſomewhat above the middle ſize of women, and has a ſmart martial air, which in a man would not be diſagreeable.

I walked home about nine: the night was uncommonly dark; my way lay acroſs the Carouſel, along the Pont Royal, to the fauxbourg St. Germain. I have frequently come the ſame way alone from the Caffé de Foy in the Palais Royal after it was dark. I never was attacked, nor have I heard of a ſingle ſtreet robbery, or houſe-breaking, ſince I have been in Paris.

This ſeems to me very remarkable, in the ungovernable ſtate in which Paris may be ſuppoſed to be ſince the 10th of this month.

The mob certainly killed on the ſpot ſeveral men on that day who attempted to ſteal the plate of the palace; they are eaſily excited to aſſaſſinate any body who is pointed out to them as a Chevalier du Poignard, or a traitor to the country. Society is aſſuredly in a moſt dangerous and dreadful ſtate, when a ſet of hot-headed ignorant men, aſſuming the prerogatives of judges and executioners, commit ſuch exceſſes with impunity. But it is ſingular that thoſe who carry their contempt of law and order a more criminal length than the highwayman and houſe-breaker, do not occaſionally rob in the ſtreets and highways alſo; and it muſt appear in a peculiar manner ſtrange to perſons accuſtomed to live in a country where there are frequent robberies and burglaries,

glaries, in ſpite of the government's being undiſturbed, and the laws in full force, to find none where all the hinges and ſupports of law and government are looſe, and ſhaking from a recent convulſion.

Auguſt 18.

The accounts of the commiſſaries from the National Aſſembly being arreſted at Sedan, is confirmed.

M. de la Fayette having been adviſed by couriers from his friends at Paris, of what was intended, immediately ſent directions to the magiſtrates of Sedan to arreſt the commiſſaries as ſoon as they entered the town: he repreſented what had happened in Paris on the 10th, as the temporary inſurrection of a mob, which would ſoon be quelled, and by this means prevailed on the magiſtrates to arreſt and impriſon them as impoſtors.

It would ſeem from this, however, that he is not perfectly ſure of his army;

otherwiſe he would probably have allowed the commiſſaries to advance to the army, and then arreſted them as rebels. It depends on the army whether the general or the commiſſaries ſhall be judged rebels.

In the mean time, the National Aſſembly have ſent two new commiſſaries to inſtruct the department, to order the mayor of Sedan and fourteen of his aſſiſtant adminiſtrators to appear at the bar, and anſwer for their conduct; and the Aſſembly declare all who ſhall oppoſe theſe orders, infamous and traitors to the country, and decree that all the citizens of Sedan ſhall be reſponſible on their lives for the ſafety of their commiſſaries.

A deputation from the battalion of Marſeilles came to the bar this day, and made the ſame offer which they announced laſt night at the Jacobins, namely, to bring the heads of the magiſtrates of Sedan on pikes to their bar.

They

They were thanked by the preſident for their generous offer; but were told at the ſame time, that the Aſſembly preferred ſeeing the magiſtrates in the uſual form with their heads on their ſhoulders.

A price is put on the head of M. la Fayette; and, according to the ancient phraſe, chaque citoyen peut courir ſus.

Decrees of accuſation are made againſt Barnave, Alex. Lameth and others, who, although now conſidered as traitors, were thought patriots formerly.

There is often as little candour among zealots in politics, as thoſe in religion. He whoſe religious creed or ideas of freedom keep the hundredth part of a degree beneath theirs, is conſidered with as much horror and contempt as the avowed atheiſt or moſt Pavian courtier.

Auguſt 19.

They talk of forming a fortified camp for 40,000 men near Paris, including Mont Martre,

Martre, and all that ſide of the city which lies next to St. Denis; which looks as if they began to dread the approach of the Germans.

I ſaw no ſigns of this however at the Champs Eliſées, through which I drove this evening.

All thoſe extenſive fields were crowded with company of one ſort or other; an immenſe number of ſmall booths were erected, where refreſhments were ſold, and which reſounded with muſic and ſinging. Pantomimes and puppet-ſhews of various kinds are here exhibited, and in ſome parts they were dancing in the open fields. "Are theſe people as happy as they ſeem?" ſaid I to a Frenchman who was with me. "Ils ſont heureux comme des dieux, Monſieur* " replied he.

"Do you think the Duke of Brunſwick never enters their thoughts?" ſaid I. "Soyez

* They are as happy as the gods.

ſûr,

ſûr, Monſieur," reſumed he, " que Brunſwick eſt préciſément l'homme du monde au'quel ils penſent le moins *."

One fellow, on a kind of ſtage, had a monkey who played a thouſand tricks. When the man called him ariſtocrate, the monkey flew at his throat with every mark of rage; but when he called him un bon patriote, the monkey expreſſed ſatisfaction, and careſſed his maſter.

I ſee a great many monkeys every day, who affect to be bons patriotes.

One has no great objection to thoſe patriots who dance about like monkeys; but they who to the airs of the monkey join the diſpoſition of tigers, and dance with heads upon pikes, are horrible.

A petition was read to the Aſſembly, in which, with others of the ſame ſtamp, was this affected and inhuman expreſſion, " Que

* Depend upon it, Sir, that Brunſwick is the man on earth of whom they think the leaſt.

toute

toute communication entre Louis XVI. et ſon épouſe ceſſe. La France ſera ſauvée lorſque cette Medicis ne ſoufflera plus ſes fureurs dans l'ame du nouveau Charles IX *."

They muſt ſurely have the hearts of tigers who could ſuggeſt ſuch an uſeleſs piece of cruelty, and come parading with it to the bar of the National Aſſembly.

There is not, beſides, the leaſt reſemblance between the yielding diſpoſition of Louis XVI. and the ſtern ferocity of Charles IX.; and the Queen of France was never before accuſed, even by her greateſt enemies, of the diſſimulation, treachery, and cruelty of Catherine of Medicis.

Auguſt 20.

I was ſeveral hours this day at the National Aſſembly. Briſſot and Laſource, and

* Let all communication between Louis XVI. and his wife be put an end to. France will be ſaved when that Medicis ſhall no longer have it in her power to inſpire her fury into the ſoul of this new Charles IX.

many

many others ſpoke. I was not ſurpriſed at the eloquence and ingenuity of their diſcourſes, becauſe I had read ſome of the writings of the former, and had heard of the talents of both; but I was ſurpriſed at the number of ſpeakers, and that all delivered themſelves with facility.

In point of ingenuity, learning, and ſtrength of reaſoning, there is perhaps as much difference between the ſpeakers of the National Aſſembly, as there is between thoſe of the Houſe of Commons; but in facility of utterance and flow of words, all the ſpeakers in the former are nearer on an equality.

I have not ſeen among them any of that heſitation and perplexity of expreſſion which is ſometimes obſerved in the Houſe of Commons; yet one might imagine that young members, and all who are unaccuſtomed to ſpeak in public, would feel themſelves more embarraſſed in ſpeaking from

from a lofty conſpicuous place, ſuch as the tribune of the National Aſſembly, than ſpeaking in their place, as is done in the Houſe of Commons.

I have not heard one ſpeaker from the tribune who wanted either words or courage in pronouncing them. As for mauvaiſe honte, there is no ſuch thing in this country: I wonder how they came by the expreſſion.

The Britiſh Ambaſſador informed me today that he was recalled.

The Princeſs Lamballe, Madame de Tourzelle, Mademoiſelle Pauline de Tourzelle, and ſome other attendants on the King and Queen, were carried from the Temple to what is called La Maiſon Commune, and there interrogated reſpecting certain ſecret correſpondences they are accuſed of having carried on. And after this examination they were carried to a priſon named

named *Hotel de la Force*, inſtead of being conducted back to the Temple.

How ſhocking to treat perſons of their rank and ſex with ſuch indignity and cruelty, whoſe greateſt crime ſeems to be attachment to their benefactors! If it were even proved that they had endeavoured to carry on the correſpondence with which they are charged, this cannot excuſe ſuch treatment. In times like theſe, the paſſions of hatred and revenge burn with augmented violence; and when, in addition, they are excited by conſcious guilt and perſonal fear, they carry men to the height of wickedneſs.

I have been told that ſome perſons of horrid diſpoſitions have been lately added to the acting committee of the Commune de Paris.

Auguſt 21.

I adviſed Lord Lauderdale to leave Paris and go to Spa; but it is difficult at this time

to obtain paſſports: they have been refuſed to many ſtrangers, who for ſome time paſt found Paris a diſagreeable reſidence, and thought it would become more ſo, as the German armies, who have already entered France, were advancing to the capital. Britiſh ſubjects in particular are about to loſe one great inducement to remain, by the expected departure of Lord Gower and Lady Sutherland.

Before we left England, it had been ſuggeſted, that, at ſuch a period, we might meet with the difficulty we now experienced. Lord Lauderdale therefore had accepted of a letter from M. Chauvelin to the mayor of Paris, the import of which was, deſiring him to facilitate our propoſed journey to the ſouth, in caſe of any difficulty or obſtruction.

This letter had been left at the houſe of the mayor; but the confuſions which took place immediately after our arrival, prevented our having ſeen him. It was ima-

gined that through his influence we might obtain paſſports. An acquaintance of M. Petion offering to conduct us to the Maiſon de Ville, we determined to make the trial.

When we arrived at the outer gate, and told our buſineſs was with the mayor, we were admitted. There was a body of about fifty men under arms at this time before the gate. The Maiſon de Ville had more the appearance of the head quarters of the general of an army, than the reſidence of a mayor. One of the national guards took hold of my cane, aſking if there was a concealed weapon in it. I preſented it, and told him there was not. An Engliſhman, who was in the uniform of the national guards, addreſſed me in his native language. I told him we had brought a letter from M. Chauvelin to the mayor, and wiſhed to ſee him.

What this man's name is I know not; he ſeemed to have ſome authority among them,

for he immediately conducted us up ſtairs, and through ſome rooms, into a large hall, where there were ten or a dozen ſoldiers with their arms, beſides officers and others, who I ſuppoſe were waiting to ſpeak to M. Petion. When the Engliſhman had ſent in our names by a ſervant who attended for that purpoſe, he left us, and I never ſaw him afterwards.

While we waited in this hall, a corporal came and aſked if we had received any order or ticket for admiſſion to the place where we were; for without theſe nobody who did not belong to the guard ought to remain. We informed him of our buſineſs, and that we were Engliſh; on which he deſired us to ſtay, ſaying, the mayor would wait on us directly. Many people in municipal ſcarfs, or officers' uniforms, paſſed and repaſſed. We were at length introduced.

M. Petion is a well-looking fair man, of a genteel

a genteel addreſs and cheerful countenance, with an habitual ſmile. He made an apology for not having come ſooner, ſaying, he had been detained by buſineſs which did not admit of an inſtant's delay. On telling him we wiſhed for paſſports to Spa, by Givet, he ſaid that, at that particular time, no paſſports were granted by that route; at any rate he would not adviſe us to take it, becauſe we might run a riſk of being pillaged by the Hulans, or other irregular troops of the Auſtrian army; adding, that within a very ſhort time we might have paſſports for England.

We hinted an inclination to reſide for a ſhort time in ſome province of France, if we might remain there with ſafety, and could not go directly to Spa, but that it was neceſſary to have paſſports before we could be allowed to go out of Paris. M. Petion ſaid, he was convinced that reſtraint would continue only a few days, but that Paris

was by much the ſafeſt place of France we could be in; for that in the provinces alarms might be ſpread, and diſturbances ariſe, while the enemy were in the country, but at Paris there would always be a ſufficient force to keep all quiet.

On being aſked if there were any news from the frontiers?

He anſwered with a careleſs air, that he underſtood that Brunſwick had entered France. He may advance twenty, or perhaps thirty leagues. Well, continued he, the farther he advances, the greater will be the loſs of his army; and if they continue to advance much farther, they will be entirely ſurrounded, and few of them will ever get back. The Pruſſians, added he, relied on a conſpiracy here in their favour: the 10th of Auguſt put an end to that hope, and they will ſoon be bewildered, and not know how to proceed.

I heard him with a great deal of attention, but

but very little faith in his prediction, and ſoon after we took our leave.

Auguſt 22.

Accounts are arrived that M. la Fayette finding no diſpoſition in his army to adhere to him, but, on the contrary, that many of the officers, and almoſt all the ſoldiers, were for ſupporting the decrees of the National Aſſembly, has retired from his army with a part of his principal officers, and is ſuppoſed to have gone to Holland in his way to England.

M. Kerſaint, and the other commiſſaries who were impriſoned at Sedan, are now ſet at liberty, with many apologies from the Commune for the treatment they had received, which they impute to the miſrepreſentation of La Fayette, on whom they transfer the name of traitor, which they had before beſtowed on Kerſaint, who, with his companions, is now with the army, where

they have been received with acclamations of joy.

This is not preciſely the iſſue I expected when I firſt heard of the commiſſaries being ſent, and ſtill leſs what I thought probable on hearing of their impriſonment.

Nothing now is heard of but addreſſes from all parts of France to the Aſſembly, congratulating them on what they call the glorious victory of the 10th of Auguſt, and highly approving of the ſuſpenſion of the King.

This however does not prevent us from wiſhing to have it in our power to remove from Paris when we think it expedient; a wiſh which is rather increaſed by my having heard it repeatedly aſſerted by ſome of my French acquaintance, that it is generally believed that many agents from the Court of Great Britain are now in Paris, whoſe errand is to promote confuſion, and excite that ſpirit of jealouſy and ſedition which already exiſts ſo much all over France.

On

On my laughing at this idea, a very ſenſible man, who was a member of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, and will probably be of the Convention, if that ſhould ever take place, declared that he was convinced of the fact, and aſked how the great number of guineas now in circulation at Paris could be otherwiſe accounted for?

I anſwered, that I knew nothing of the circulation of guineas; but I had always underſtood that our Adminiſtration had too great a demand for them at home, to think of ſending them abroad. At any rate I was perſuaded they would not ſtoop to ſuch a manœuvre, which was as unjuſtifiable as it would be for the executive power of France to ſmuggle over men to England, for the purpoſe of exciting ſeditious inſurrections againſt the Britiſh Government.

He allowed that it would be juſt as bad in the one as in the other; and repeated

his perſuaſion, that it had been done by England, but not by France.

As I was entirely convinced that he was in an error, I took a good deal of pains to remove it, but without ſucceſs; and I mention it as a very ſtrong inſtance of the power of prejudice over a very acute and enlightened mind.

However groundleſs this notion is, its prevailing among the mob of Paris may be attended with diſagreeable conſequences to the Engliſh here, at a time when government is ſo feeble; and when, notwithſtanding the prudent conduct of the Britiſh Ambaſſador, his being recalled is a ſufficient mark of the diſapprobation of his Court of the late meaſures.

I determined to call on M. Clavière, the miniſtre des contributions, for whom I had a letter from M. Durouverie, and try whether, by his influence, we might not get paſſports to leave Paris. His porter informed

formed me laſt night, that he ſaw people on buſineſs from ſix in the morning till nine. I called at his hotel this morning at eight, and was conducted into a room where ſeveral people were waiting. My name was taken down in writing, as thoſe of all preſent had previouſly been, and carried to the miniſter. I was called in my turn; and after I had informed him of my buſineſs, he wrote a letter to M. le Brun, the miniſter for foreign affairs, whoſe buſineſs it is to give paſſports, recommending it to him to provide Lord Lauderdale and me with them, as ſoon as the preſent interdiction was removed.

M. Claviere then ſaid, "that the affair of the 10th, he underſtood, had been greatly miſrepreſented in England, but that all Europe would be ſoon convinced that all the blood ſhed on that day was owing to the treachery of the Court; that France had determined to be free, and would not ſuffer

any thing within its own boſom to undermine or counteract that freedom; that ſmall ſtates, ſuch as Geneva, and even Holland, were ſometimes obliged to ſuffer controul from their neighbours, with reſpect to their own internal government; but that a powerful nation like France could not be dictated to; and that whatever form of government the French ſhould think proper by their repreſentatives to chooſe, they were able to maintain; and it was not in the power of all the Auſtrians, Pruſſians, and Ruſſians on earth to prevent it."

Several new battalions, which are called chaſſeurs nationaux, have been raiſed lately. I was in the National Aſſembly when a deputation from them appeared at the bar: one ſpoke in the name of the reſt. The object of his diſcourſe was, to expreſs the regret of his companions, and his own, at being ſo long detained in Paris, where they lived a life of idleneſs, while their wiſhes

were

were to haſten to the frontiers, that they might repel the enemies of their country, or periſh in the attempt. They all earneſtly requeſted the Aſſembly to iſſue immediate orders agreeably to their ardent wiſhes.

This ſpeech was pronounced with grace, and heard with applauſe. The young orator and his companions were invited to the honneur de la ſéance, and about forty of them marched through the hall to their ſeats. Their uniform is blue jackets, with green epaulets, buff-coloured waiſtcoat, and narrow trowſers of the ſame cloth, and ſhort boots, with very well contrived ſmart helmets. They were in general from about eighteen to twenty-four years of age, all very fine looking young men, and all, I am convinced, full of martial ardour: their appearance however approached nearer to Homer's deſcription of Paris, than of Hector going to battle. I do not know what figure they will make in the eyes of the Pruſſians,

but

but they made a very brilliant one in the Aſſembly hall. I thought the ladies in the galleries would never have done with their applauſe.

Auguſt 22.

Nothing is more difficult than the diſcovery of truth regarding recent events of an important and complicated nature, which many people are intereſted in falſifying, and almoſt every body inclined to repreſent according to their own prejudices.

I have experienced this ſtrongly in my enquiries concerning the incidents which occurred on the 10th of Auguſt, and the circumſtances which led to the cataſtrophe of that day.

Every thing is viewed through ſuch different mediums, and from ſuch oppoſite points, that the various accounts which pour in from all quarters, croſs, joſtle, and confound each other in ſuch a manner, that I have on ſome occaſions been tempted to

ſuſpect,

ſuſpect, that as my information increaſed my knowledge diminiſhed.

I have ſometimes had reaſon to imagine that all has happened in conſequence of a preconcerted and well executed plan, the authors and conductors of which have been alſo mentioned to me.

On farther enquiry, I have been aſſured that there was no well digeſted deſign on either ſide; that a vaſt thoughtleſs maſs of populace had been put in motion by a ſet of needy adventurers, who, without any preciſe object, wiſhed for a new ſtorm, in which they might be gainers, but had nothing to loſe; that it was for ſome time doubtful whether the inſurrection would terminate againſt, or in favour of the Court; that there was a very conſiderable chance of its ending, like that of the 20th of June, in mere parade, drunkenneſs, and noiſe; in which caſe it would have tended to the increaſe of the King's authority, by rendering men

men more averſe to the diſguſting power of a rabble.

I have been told by others, whoſe authority is more reſpectable, that the plan was to ſeize on the perſon of the King, carry him directly to the caſtle of Vincennes, and there confine him till a National Convention ſhould decide on his fate, and the future form of government: this it is believed was the plan of the Republican party, and that it was prevented from being literally executed, by the reſolution which his Majeſty took of going to the National Aſſembly, which the formers of this plan had not taken into their calculation.

It could not eſcape their reflection, however, that in attempting to ſeize on his perſon and carry him to Vincennes, he might very poſſibly be killed.

Whatever the ſecret wiſhes of particular perſons in the Court might be, and whatever their connections with the enemies of

France,

France, it ſeems evident that on the 10th of Auguſt the King's ſchemes were entirely of a defenſive nature.

Some people think, however, that in the diſpoſition in which a great part of the national guards were, and with the force aſſembled in the Tuileries, if they had been directed with ability, and the firſt advantage followed up with energy, the fœderés and the rabble from the ſuburbs would have been completely diſperſed, the beſt part of the citizens would have declared for the King, and there can be little doubt of all the armies on the frontiers following their example. To accuſe him of being the aggreſſor on that day, which is the common cry now, is without foundation.

The following particulars reſpecting the tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt, I began to inſert in my Journal this day; and although I came to the knowledge of them at various times, ſome of them at later periods,

as

as appears in the original Journal, I have thought proper to put them all together under this date.

The motion made by M. Vaublanc before I left the Aſſembly on the 9th, and which I thought would have paſſed, namely, that the fœderés ſhould be ordered to remove from Paris, although it was frequently renewed by him and others, was always poſtponed, and never decreed.

The Aſſembly continued ſitting all the night of the 9th; but for ſome part of the time there was not always during that time the legal number to make a decree, namely two hundred.

Petion the mayor was in the palace till two or three o'clock of the morning of the 10th. He had been with the King to give an account of the ſtate of Paris, but remained in the palace or on the terrace after leaving his Majeſty; which gave occaſion for ſpreading a report among the citizens, that he

was

was kept there againſt his will, as a pledge for the ſafety of the King; and it was even aſſerted in the Aſſembly, that he was retained by force in the palace: but that was refuted by one of the members declaring he had ſeen him a few minutes before walking on the terrace of the Feuillans with another municipal officer; they had both come out of the palace for a little freſh air, and were about to return to it, when this member ſpoke to them, and Petion told him that he intended to remain there till the public tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed.

Notwithſtanding this aſſurance, as ſuſpicions of his danger were inſinuated, it was thought proper to ſend a meſſage to the palace for the mayor, which was accordingly done, and he directly came to their bar.

This is a ſatisfactory proof that Petion was under no controul from the King; and, in my opinion, it forms a preſumption that the mayor was not privy to any plot againſt

the life of the King, or even of any intention to ſeize his perſon and carry him to Vincennes; for he could not imagine that either the one or the other could be accompliſhed without a conteſt, in which it muſt have occurred to Petion that he would have been ſacrificed, and therefore he would have taken care not to be preſent.

It is ſaid by ſome, that he went as a ſpy to examine what force there was in the Tuileries, and conſider in what parts the caſtle would be attacked with the moſt advantage; alſo to mark who were the leaders, that he might afterwards be their accuſer.

This however would have been a ſervice of great danger, and as unneceſſary as dangerous; a hundred other people were better qualified than Petion to have given this information.

On his arrival at the palace that night, he went directly and made his report to the

King

King; all the time he remained afterwards, he was under the eye of the Swiſs, and of gentlemen attached to his Majeſty.

There is reaſon to imagine that Petion, having had ſome hint of a meaſure intended to be taken at the town-houſe, and not approving of every part of it, choſe rather to be at the palace than there during that tranſaction. Soon after his going from the palace to the National Aſſembly, he was conſigned to his own houſe under a guard, by the Council General of the Commune de Paris, that he might not ſeem to have any part in tranſactions which were of a nature more violent and deciſive than was agreeable to his character.

The meaſure here alluded to was as follows:—While the tocſin was ſounding, the general beating, and the citizens of courſe under arms at the alarm poſts, a few of each ſection, under the pretext that the preſent common council of the city of Paris had

loſt the confidence of the people, aſſembled and elected new members for that council, inſtead of the former, to the number of near two hundred.

Thoſe new choſen counſellors went directly to the hall where the council general of the community aſſemble, declared themſelves the real council, drove out the other all except Petion, Manuel, and Danton, and then began the exerciſe of their functions in a more vigorous manner than ever was known before.

Mandat, the commander in chief of the national guards, is now repreſented as a traitor, whoſe deſign was to maſſacre the people. But I underſtand from thoſe who have been long acquainted with him, that he was an honeſt man, though of no extenſive capacity; and of his treaſon I have heard no other proof than that he thought it his duty to oppoſe the entrance of the multitude into the King's palace, in caſe they ſhould attempt

tempt to force their way; and that he had encouraged thoſe under his command to adhere to the conſtitution, and defend the royal family from violence. Mandat had alſo taken a prudent ſtep in placing a party of the national guards on the Pont Neuf with ſome cannon, on purpoſe to cut off the communication between thoſe who were aſſembling in the different ſuburbs of the oppoſite ſides of the river.

The new council general ſaw the detriment that this poſt was of to their deſigns; they therefore ſent ſome of their body with the ſcarfs of the municipal officers, to order the guard to be removed from the bridge, and a free intercourſe to be opened between the inſurgents on each ſide of the Seine.

The ancient council were of the ſame ſentiments with Mandat. He had therefore given no direction to the officer who commanded at this poſt, not to obey any order which came from them; ſuch an idea could

not naturally occur to him, for neither he nor the officer knew that the original council was diſſolved, and that a new one had uſurped their authority; this officer therefore obeyed what he thought a legal power, and removed his guard.

The new council about the ſame time ſent a meſſage to Mandat to come to the town-houſe, on the pretence that they had ſomething of importance to communicate to him regarding the public ſafety. Mandat did not immediately go; he was at the Tuileries with a large body of national guards when he received this meſſage, and freſh parties of the national guards were arriving every minute to put themſelves under his command, and he was aſſigning them their poſts.

A ſecond meſſage, more preſſing than the firſt, came to him while he was thus employed—He then thought he could delay no longer—he left the palace about four, and haſtened

haſtened to the town-houſe. It is ſaid, that he had an order in his pocket, ſigned by Petion, authoriſing him to repel force by force, in caſe the populace attempted to force their way into the palace. The council wiſhed to get poſſeſſion of this order.

On his entering the hall where the council were met, he was ſurpriſed to ſee a very different aſſembly from what he expected. They accuſed him of a deſign to attack and ſlaughter the people during their intended march from the ſuburbs to the palace, and of having made arrangements for that purpoſe.

The man was equally confounded at what he ſaw, and what he heard.

After a ſhort examination, he was deſired to withdraw; but as he arrived at the top of the ſtair, he was ſhot through the head with a piſtol, and at the ſame inſtant thruſt through the body.

The council then appointed Santerre com-

mander in chief of the national guards. This Santerre was originally a brewer, and carried on a great trade in the ſuburbs of St. Antoine, where he gave employment to a very conſiderable number of men. As his manners and converſation were on a level with thoſe he employed, it is not ſurpriſing that he was popular, and had influence in that neighbourhood. How a perſon in his ſituation, and with his manners, came to attract the attention of the Duke of Orleans, is not ſo obvious.

I am aſſured, however, that the Duke did honour M. Santerre with his acquaintance, and had him occaſionally at his convivial parties, previous to his being honoured with the command of the national guard.

The council aſſumed the whole authority, and ſent orders wherever it was thought neceſſary, which were generally obeyed.

The officer who had been appointed by Mandat to guard the arſenal, was ordered by

by the council to repair with the men under his command to the ſuburbs of St. Antoine. A number of muſkets from the arſenal were diſtributed among the people; and the guard, whoſe duty it was to have prevented this, marched at the head of thoſe people againſt the Tuileries.

That a body of men elected at midnight, in the midſt of confuſion and alarm, ſhould be able to annihilate an eſtabliſhed council, uſurp all the executive authority, and find itſelf inſtantly and univerſally obeyed, will ſeem very extraordinary.

It is not to be imagined however that this originated in an inſtantaneous reſolution of the various ſections of Paris: all had been arranged by a junto of men, of which Danton was ſuppoſed to be a leading member, and of whom the electors of the ſections were the tools. The new deputies, having been previouſly pointed out by the junto, found little difficulty in diſmiſſing the old; for,

beſide

beſide their being of bolder characters than their predeceſſors, it is natural for attackers to act with more ſpirit than thoſe who defend, eſpecially if the attack is made when it is not expected. And it is equally true that, in critical times, men are apt to ſhrink from reſponſible ſituations. Many members of the old commune therefore might not be diſpleaſed with the uſurpation.

Whatever may be thought of this meaſure in other reſpects, it muſt be allowed to have had a deciſive influence on the events of that night.

Previous to this, many circumſtances appeared favourable to the King. There were about fifteen hundred gentlemen, officers, and others of various ranks within the palace, all attached to the King, and ready to die in his defence, and that of the royal family; there were a thouſand Swiſs, in the barracks of the Carouſel, and about half that number of the national guards, who

uſually did duty with them at the Tuileries; and before Mandat received the ſummons to the town-houſe, between two and three thouſand of the national guards had arrived by his orders in different detachments at the Tuileries: formerly they had done duty by battalions, but by a late decree of the National Aſſembly, they were directed to do duty by detachments from all the various battalions. If the former method had continued, Mandat would have choſen thoſe battalions which were known to be beſt affected to the King for this night's ſervice; which would have been a very great advantage, as ſome battalions, particularly thoſe of the ſections of Petits Peres and Filles St. Thomas were entirely ſo. This being out of his power, and he ordering a detachment equal to three battalions, ſome of the diſaffected muſt have been among them, and a few ſo inclined were in danger of corrupting many: however, theſe detachments, by coming early,

manifeſted

manifeſted a deſire of obeying their commander, and protecting the royal family.

Thoſe various detachments brought with them twelve pieces of cannon, which were placed around the palace in the manner thought moſt advantageous for repelling an attack. Two were placed with a ſtrong party at the Pont-tournant, which is at the diſtance of the whole length of the gardens from the palace, fronting the grand alley of the firſt, and the principal gate of the ſecond. This bridge is over a kind of foſſé, which ſeparates the gardens of the Tuileries from the ſpacious Place de Louis XV.

Of all theſe troops the cannoniers were the moſt ſuſpected of being unfavourably diſpoſed to the King.

Beſide the troops above enumerated, there was a body of a thouſand cavalry, called gendarmerie à cheval, all under arms, and poſted in various places, under different commanders, all attached to the King.

Another

Another circumſtance in favour of his Majeſty was that degree of indignation pretty generally felt by the inhabitants of Paris, excluſive of thoſe of three of the ſuburbs, for the enormities that were committed on the 20th of June. When to theſe it is added, that the majority of the National Aſſembly certainly diſapproved of the diſorderly and alarming meaſures to which the multitude were prompted, and wiſhed them checked, we muſt conclude, that with more unanimity, firmneſs, and deciſion among thoſe who directed the council within the palace, the deſign of the original ſchemers of the inſurrection would have been baffled; the event would have been different, perhaps the very reverſe of what happened.

The moſt ſincere friends of freedom muſt have been fatigued and alarmed by thoſe repeated diſorders, and willing to ſeize that opportunity of extending the power of the King,

King, ſo far as is neceſſary to prevent them for the future.

As for the King himſelf, I am inclined to believe, from his mild and unambitious character, from his conduct ſince the commencement of his reign, from his piety, and from all I have heard from cool and candid authority ſince I came here, that it was his deſire and determination to be faithful to the conſtitution, provided the conſtitution was allowed to be faithful to him; and that he deſired no other alteration than ſuch as could ſecure the prerogatives which the conſtitution allowed him.

That he ever entered into any engagement, or aſſiſted any project for the reſtoration of the old government, is what I have found no ſatisfactory proof of.

Whatever plans may have been formed by the King and his council for the defence of the Tuileries, the repelling the aſſailants,

and

and for the meaſures to be purſued on their being diſperſed, all were rendered ineffectual by the illegal and wicked, but deciſive meaſure, of appointing a new council at the town-houſe, murdering the commander of the national guards, and by that council uſurping the whole power of the State.

After Mandat left the Tuileries and went to the town-houſe, as he deſigned to return immediately, he left no particular orders. The various detachments of national guards which at his requiſition were aſſembled around the palace, and in its different courts, were long in impatient expectation of ſeeing him: in his abſence they knew not whom to obey, or how to act in the different emergencies which occurred.

About ſix o'clock in the morning, the King, who had not gone to bed the preceding night, deſcended into the courts of the palace to review the Swiſs and national guards. He was accompanied by ſome perſons

ſons of rank, and officers of diſtinction. The Swiſs began the cry of Vive le Roi! as ſoon as he appeared, and the national guards repeated it; but all the cannoniers cried, Vive la Nation! which not being accompanied with the other, was a ſign of diſapprobation.

From the courts the King went into the gardens, and reviewed the troops there, and on the terrace of the Tuileries: he afterwards walked all the way to the poſt of the Pont-tournant. On his return to the palace, he underſtood that ſome bodies of national guards, juſt arrived, ſeemed to have caught the diſpoſition of the cannoniers; they ſhouted, Vive la Nation! and ſome of them cried, Vive Petion!

The detachments which had aſſembled early by orders of Mandat were diſturbed at this, and at hearing nothing of their commander; ſome of them began to change their original diſpoſitions, through the

inſinuations and example of the cannoniers.

In the mean time an immenſe multitude, headed by the fœderés, were advancing from the ſuburbs of St. Antoine; every ſtreet and alley which led to the palace was crowded by rabble, and by parties of a kind of irregular national guards, ſome armed with fuſees, and ſome with pikes, who came from every quarter of Paris, without knowing what was intended, or how they themſelves were to act, and who were ready to cry, Vive le Roi! or Vive la Nation! according to the humour of the ſtreet through which they paſſed, and the turn which things might take.

The gendarmerie à cheval, who were drawn up in an opening near the Carouſel, were gradually ſhoved off their ground by the ſtill augmenting multitude, and removed to the Place du Palais Royal, from whence alſo they were ſoon obliged to ſhift their

ground. To allow cavalry to be thus preſſed upon, and all their movements impeded, was rendering them uſeleſs, and expoſing them to be infected, partly through fear and partly by example, with the ſpirit of the crowd which ſurrounded them, which accordingly happened; for although they ſeemed in the morning determined to do their duty by defending the palace and royal family, and under proper management would probably have done ſo, yet being from the mere preſſure of the crowd forced from one place to another, and in obedience to that crowd obliged to cry Vive la Nation as they rode through the ſtreets, they gradually loſt their original intention; and afterwards, when they ſaw the Swiſs give way, and flying through the Place of Louis XV. and the plain called the Elyſian Fields, great part of this body of cavalry abandoned their officers, and attacked and cut down the unhappy fugitives, the very men whom that ſame morning they

they had conſidered as their friends, and engaged in the ſame cauſe with themſelves.

The gendarmerie à cheval were not the only part of the national guards who acted in this manner; and it was pretty evident, a conſiderable time before the attack, that thoſe who were placed in the garden and the courts of the palace were no longer to be depended on.

The whole body of Swiſs, however, a party of national grenadiers, and all the officers, gentlemen, and others who were within the palace and immediately about the King's perſon, remained unſhaken, and ready to ſacrifice themſelves in his defence and in that of his family.

After the King's return from the gardens, ſome arrangements were made for the defence of the palace; parties were placed at different poſts, and under the command of particular leaders. Among thoſe leaders

were men who had, in the courſe of their lives, enjoyed high commands.

Of all belonging to the royal family the Prince and Princeſs Royal only had gone to bed; the Queen's anxiety on their account had made her inſiſt on this the preceding night; the ſame anxiety prompted her to have them awaked early in the morning, as ſhe ſaw danger approaching. The ſight of her children was beſides a cordial which her heart needed at a time ſo depreſſing and afflictive. I am aſſured that ſhe behaved with great firmneſs on this very trying occaſion; that ſhe ſpoke in an encouraging manner to the guards, praiſing their loyalty and attachment to the royal family.

Nothing can be imagined more affecting than the condition of this unfortunate Princeſs. Who could behold, without the moſt ſympathetic emotion, a Queen of France, the ſiſter of Emperors, in the preſence of her huſband and children, implor-

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ing the protection of a ſmall band of gentlemen, and a few grenadiers?

Philoſophy may demonſtrate that a woman in a far inferior walk of life, when her huſband, her children, and herſelf, are in the ſame danger, and who has as much, or perhaps more, happineſs to loſe in loſing them, ought to command our ſympathy in an equal, if not a ſuperior degree.

After philoſophy has demonſtrated this, even thoſe who admit the demonſtration will ſtill enter more warmly into the diſtreſs of the Queen, than into that of the woman in an inferior walk of life.

It may be repeated, that the latter is as worthy and as amiable as the former; that ſhe loves her huſband and her children, and is beloved by them as much; that in her more humble ſphere, ſhe enjoyed more happineſs, and therefore in reality is in danger of ſuffering a greater loſs than the other can. When the voice of philoſophy has

repeated all this, what does the human heart anſwer?

Without diſputing about what *ought* to be, but avowing honeſtly what *is*, the human heart, faithful to its firſt impreſſions, or prejudices if you pleaſe, will anſwer—I take a ſtronger intereſt in the diſtreſſes of the Queen.

A little after ſeven o'clock, M. Rhœderer, with other officers of the department, entered the room where the King was, and declared, "that the palace was ſurrounded by an irreſiſtible number of armed men; that the national guards who had come early in the morning were corrupted, and more ready to aſſiſt than oppoſe the aſſailants; that the King, Queen, their children and attendants, were on the point of being ſlaughtered; and that there were no other means of ſafety left for them, but immediately to put themſelves under the protection of the National Aſſembly."

This

This was a moſt humiliating meaſure, particularly in the eyes of the Queen, who, on hearing this idea once inſinuated before, had ſaid that ſhe would rather be nailed to the walls of the palace, and ſtill ſhewed the greateſt averſion to going; but on its being urged that there was no other refuge for the King and her children, and that even this would be loſt if not taken immediately —heaving a profound ſigh, ſhe ſaid, " It is the laſt ſacrifice, let it be made !"

The ſame motive of tenderneſs for her children which determined the Queen, prevented the King from heſitating longer. The whole royal family ſet out immediately, accompanied by a detachment of Swiſs and of the national guards on duty within the palace. Thoſe troops formed a lane along the terrace of the Feuillans, through which the royal family and their attendants walked to the hall of the National Aſſembly.

It is infinitely to be regretted that the

King, before he quitted the palace, did not direct thoſe who remained within it, immediately to capitulate with the leaders of the inſurgents, and throw the gates open to the people; this would have ſaved the lives of many gallant men, which, however expedient it might have been to riſk in defence of the King and royal family, ought not to have been expoſed for the preſervation of the walls and furniture of a palace.

This is to be imputed to the concern and agitation of the King's mind at a time ſo critical and alarming; for I give no weight to the aſſertion of thoſe who pretend that he took this ſtep for the ſake of having a double chance in his favour, that if the aſſailants were repulſed, he might be carried victorious to the palace; and if the reverſe happened, he might ſtill remain in ſafety at the Aſſembly.

Such an interpretation of this unhappy Prince's conduct is not ſurpriſing, at a time when

when his moſt indifferent and even laudable actions are perverted into crimes, by the unrelenting rancour of his enemies.

Some time before the King reviewed the troops in the courts and gardens of the Tuileries, M. Dejoly, miniſter of juſtice, had gone to the Aſſembly, and informed them of the King's having heard that uneaſineſs had been expreſſed reſpecting the perſonal ſafety of Petion: "His Majeſty therefore aſſured the Aſſembly, that he had been glad to ſee the mayor of Paris in the palace; that he had ordered him to be treated with all proper attention while he remained, and allowed him to depart the moment the Aſſembly had ſent for him. But his Majeſty underſtanding that there were ſtill great multitudes aſſembled in ſome of the ſuburbs, and that they ſpoke of marching to the palace and to the hall of the Aſſembly, he recommended it to the repreſentatives of the people to conſider of meaſures to prevent

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the ill conſequences which might attend ſuch a ſtep."

One member obſerved on this, that there were laws exiſting againſt diſorderly aſſemblies of the people, and it was the buſineſs of the executive power to put them in execution.

Accordingly no meaſures for the King's ſafety were adopted by the Aſſembly; nor was any other notice taken of the meſſage, than that conveyed in the crabbed obſervation juſt mentioned.

Oſſelin, a municipal officer, came to the Aſſembly to give an account of the ſtate of Paris. He ſaid, that at the ſection of Quinze-vingts he had found a great confluence of people; that it was with difficulty he could get into the hall where the preſident was: that they were occupied in making very violent motions; the following among others: That if the National Aſſembly had not decreed the *décheance* by eleven o'clock at night, the tocſin ſhould be ſounded. Oſſelin ſaid, he had

had remonſtrated againſt ſo violent a reſolution; that it would be affrontive even to a country Juſtice to dictate a particular judgment, and exact that he ſhould pronounce it by a preciſe hour.

He proceeded to inform the Aſſembly of what he had obſerved at other ſections: that he had met a drummer beating the general, and had gone to the guard-room, and required of the officer to order him to ſtop; which the officer refuſed to do, ſaying, that what was done was by authority of Mandat. Oſſelin accuſed Mandat of being the cauſe of all the alarm in which Paris was, by ordering the general to be beat, by placing cannon at different poſts, and by giving directions whe n the people ſhould move with a petition to the Tuileries, to attack them in front and rear, and diſperſe them at all events.

Oſſelin added, that after his courſe through the ſections, he had returned to the town-houſe,

houſe, where he ſaw Mandat arrive, who pretended he had received orders from Petion, which would juſtify all the meaſures he had taken; but that he had not ſhewn any ſuch orders.

A member of the Aſſembly obſerved, that the mayor himſelf had acknowledged that he had ordered the commander of the national guards to double the number at every poſt, and to beat the retreat; and that, in fact, he underſtood that it was the retreat which was beat.

While they were diſputing on this difference in the account, M. Dejoly returned to the Aſſembly, and ſaid, As the diſorders of the capital were every moment aſſuming a more alarming aſpect, he imagined it would be proper to ſend a deputation of their members to be near the perſon of the King, as had been done on the 20th of June.

This was oppoſed by ſome; one of the

members ſaid, that on the occaſion alluded to, that *generous* meaſure of the Aſſembly had not prevented a perfidious and calumniating proclamation, by the King's authority, from appearing the following day.

Thoſe who oppoſed ſo natural and ſo juſt a propoſal, may be ſuſpected of knowing of ſome violent meaſure being intended againſt the King, which they were unwilling to prevent.

Others however obſerved, that when one of the ſupreme powers of the conſtitution was threatened, the other ought to defend that which was in danger; therefore, as the King was threatened, it was the duty of the Aſſembly to fly to his aſſiſtance.

It was likewiſe propoſed to invite the King to come to the Aſſembly, as a place of greater ſafety than the palace.

While this was debating, a ſerjeant of the national guard ſuddenly entered the hall, with evident marks of terror on his

counte-

countenance. He declared that he had juſt ſeen a battalion of Marſeillois marching to the Tuileries; that they had pointed their cannon againſt the palace. I believe, continued he, that the King is in danger of being aſſaſſinated. This man's emotion was ſo great, that he could hardly pronounce the laſt word.

In the mean time, ſome members of the council general, whoſe power had been uſurped in the manner already mentioned, entered, and gave an account of that ſingular tranſaction.

It was directly moved by ſome of the deputies, to paſs a decree againſt this uſurpation, and reſtore the original council.

This was oppoſed by other deputies, ſome of whom no doubt had promoted the haſty nomination made by the ſections, and approved of all that had been done by the new council.

One member, obſerving that there was

no

no likelihood of their coming ſoon to an agreement on that head, renewed the motion for ſending a deputation to the palace, putting them in mind of the danger in which the King was.

To this another ſullenly replied, that his conſtituents had not named him to the National Aſſembly, to be ſent on deputations, but to ſerve the public; he would therefore remain in the Aſſembly, which was his poſt, and die, if neceſſary, in the ſervice of his country.

M. Emmery ſaid, that he was as ready to die in the ſervice of his country as any one; but he alſo thought it his duty to do every thing in his power to preſerve the life of the King, and the Royal Family, which he feared were in danger; and therefore moved, that a deputation ſhould be inſtantly ſent to the palace to protect the perſon of his Majeſty, and accompany him and his family

family to the hall of the Aſſembly, if they choſe to come.

When this was about to be decreed, it was announced, that the King and Royal Family were on the way coming from the palace to the Aſſembly. This threw the Aſſembly into great agitation, and ſome of the members ſeemed apprehenſive of the King's ſafety.

According to an article of the Conſtitution, "as often as the King goes to the Legiſlative Aſſembly, he ought to be received, and reconducted to the palace, by a deputation."

In the confuſion of the preſent occaſion, the preſident probably did not recollect this; but a number of the members of themſelves went out to receive the King; and ſoon after, the King, Queen, the Princeſs Royal, and the Princeſs Elizabeth, entered the hall of the Aſſembly, a grenadier walking before

with

with the Prince Royal in his arms, whom he placed on the table of the Secretaries.

The King took his ſeat at the ſide of the preſident, and addreſſed the Aſſembly in the words already mentioned.

The Queen, and the reſt of the Royal Family, placed themſelves on the bench appointed for the miniſters, three ladies of the court attending them.

After the King had ſpoken, and the preſident had anſwered, a ſhort debate of a ſingular nature took place.

It was obſerved by a member, that "the Aſſembly could not proceed to buſineſs in the preſent ſituation; that the more critical the ſtate of affairs was, the more ſtrictly ought they to obſerve the forms of the conſtitution. The words of the 8th article of the 4th ſection in the chapter on the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, are,

Le corps légiſlatif ceſſera d'être corps déliberant, tant que le Roi ſera préſent *.

He moved, therefore, that the King ſhould be deſired to place himſelf at the bar, adding, that he hoped the people would offer no violence to his perſon.

Cambon ſaid, it would be more decent to place the King in the tribune, which the preſident had at his diſpoſal.

Since, ſaid another, the preſence of the King arreſts all our proceedings; and ſince, whether he remains at the ſide of the preſident, or goes to the ſeat at the extremity of the hall, he is equally under the protection of the repreſentatives of the people; I move, that he be deſired to take his ſeat at one of the extremities of the hall †.

* The legiſlative body ſhall ceaſe to be a deliberative body as long as the King is preſent.

† There are places at each end of the hall, behind the benches for the members, and where ſtrangers are admitted to ſit.

At that inſtant the King whiſpered the preſident, who, addreſſing the Aſſembly, ſaid that the King, of himſelf, deſired to go to one of the ends of the hall.

If the King or his family wiſh to retire, ſaid Cambon, they ought to have it in their power. The ſeats at the extremity of the hall are not proper for them; the bar is ſtill leſs ſo; the place aſſigned by the conſtitution for the King, as chief of the executive power, is at the ſide of the preſident; he cannot be ſeated at the bar.

To this a member replied, That although the King was chief of the executive power, he was ſtill a citizen; and therefore, like other citizens, he might ſit at the bar, in which caſe he will not be within the limits of the Aſſembly, and we may debate with freedom.

The King on hearing this came directly down from his ſeat, and placed himſelf with

his family on the benches deſtined for the miniſters.

But it was obſerved, that he was ſtill within the Aſſembly, and according to the conſtitution it would be impoſſible for the Aſſembly to do buſineſs. It was therefore moved, that the King ſhould go into the box which has been already deſcribed. His Majeſty and all the Royal Family, with ſome of their attendants, went accordingly and placed themſelves within that box.

After which M. Rhœderer (procureur of the department), who had come with the King, and had remained ever ſince at the bar; gave an account of many of the events above mentioned; only, as he did not know of the death of Mandat, but thought him under arreſt at the town-houſe, he ſaid nothing of him, but declared that a vaſt multitude of people being aſſembled in the Carouſel, and cannon being pointed againſt the palace, ſome of the populace had knock-

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ed with violence at one gate; on which he, with two municipal officers, had ſpoken to them. They ſaid they had a petition, and muſt ſpeak to the King. M. Rhœderer anſwered, that the whole could not enter, but he offered to admit a deputation of twenty of their number, who ſhould be ſafely conducted to preſent their petition to the King; and that they had retired to confer with their leaders on this propoſal.

M. Rhœderer continued to narrate that he had, after this, ſpoken to the national guards within the area of the court, and told them, that although they were there to preſerve the peace, yet the law allowed them, in caſe of their being attacked, to repel force by force, and that they ſeemed diſpoſed to do their duty; but on his ſpeaking the ſame language to the cannoniers, they, by way of anſwer, had unloaded their pieces, and they plainly ſhewed that they would make no reſiſtance whatever to the

multitude; that having heard nothing of the commander in chief of the national guards, not knowing what his plan of defence was, and there having been no communication whatever between the department and the municipality ſince Mandat had left the palace to go to the town-houſe; hearing every moment of freſh multitudes advancing from the ſuburbs, and perceiving no means of protecting the King and Royal Family, he had propoſed that they ſhould leave the palace, and ſeek an aſylum in the National Aſſembly.

He had hardly finiſhed his narrative, which was long and circumſtantial, when an officer appeared at the bar, and declared that the gates of the palace were on the point of being forced; that many citizens would be murdered, and begged the Aſſembly to think of ſome means of ſaving them.

M. Lamarque ſaid, "Without examining

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at preſent into the cauſe of thoſe events, let us think only how to prevent the horrors that are threatened. I move that the Aſſembly ſhall inſtantly order ten of their members to go and admoniſh the people againſt ſuch exceſſes; invite them to peace, order, and obedience to law; let the commiſſaries throw themſelves between the defenders and the attackers of the palace; prevent, if poſſible, this double maſſacre of citizens; and I deſire (continued he) to preſent myſelf to their firſt fire, if they ſhall fire on each other."

Guadet propoſed alſo, that, as from M. Rhœderer's account, it appeared that the commander in chief was under arreſt, they ſhould appoint twelve members to go to the town-houſe, take the commander out of arreſt, and re-eſtabliſh the communication between the department and the municipality.

Some members ſaid, they had juſt heard

that the commander of the national guard had been killed.

" If that is ſo (reſumed Guadet), your deputation muſt be authorized to appoint ſome other officer to that place in his ſtead."

The motions of Lamarque and of Guadet were both adopted; and the preſident having named the members for the firſt deputation, they haſtened to the Carouſel, to prevent the commencement of bloodſhed.

A very ſhort time after they were gone, the firing of cannon was heard, and a great noiſe in the garden of the Tuileries.

In the intervals of the cannonade, a continued fire of muſketry was heard.

The people at the gates called to arms; ſome of the deputies ſtarted up as if they intended to leave the hall; others called, " No, no, this is our poſt—here we ought to die."

Merlet,

Merlet, the preſident, not being preſent, Vergniaud had ſat as preſident; he now yielded his place to Guadet, who ſaid,

" In the name of our country, I require of the Aſſembly to remain calm and in ſilence."

In this ſtate they did remain for a conſiderable time.

The cries of victory were heard, and they were told that the Swiſs were flying.

It was apprehended, that in their retreat they might enter the hall.

" No armed force will enter here (ſaid the preſident); I am juſt informed that many Swiſs, who took no part in the action, are diſcharging their muſkets in the air, to ſhew that they never intended to join thoſe who fired on the people."

The Miniſter of the Marine declared that he had carried orders from the King, to thoſe Swiſs who were around the hall, not to uſe their arms; and he deſired that the Aſſem-

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bly would order them to be accompanied, by municipal officers, to ſome place of ſafety.

At one time there was ſuch a noiſe and buſtle in the paſſage immediately behind the two ſmall rooms in which the Royal Family were, that their attendants became apprehenſive that ſome ruffians were about to break in and offer them violence; and therefore they endeavoured to wrench out the iron bars which ſeparated the box from the hall of the Aſſembly, that the Royal Family might throw themſelves into the hall, if neceſſary: the bars were not removed till the King himſelf aſſiſted, and by repeated efforts at laſt forced the bars out.

It was thought neceſſary to authoriſe a commiſſion to make a proclamation, inviting the people to reſpect the lives and properties of the citizens; the proclamation

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to be preceded by the words, *Vive la Liberté, Vive l'Egalité!*

It was propoſed to add, Vive la Conſtitution!

This laſt was not adopted.

After this, the deputation from the new council, which had been elected the preceding night by the ſections, entered the hall, and their preſident ſpoke in the terms formerly mentioned.

One of the moſt remarkable occurrences of that memorable day, and which forms the ſtrongeſt contraſt with moſt of the others, happened in the National Aſſembly itſelf.

After the Swiſs began to give way, and when thoſe ill-fated ſoldiers, aſſailed on all ſides, were ſlaughtered without remorſe, a citizen of Paris had the humanity and the courage to protect one of them whom he ſaw overpowered by numbers, and ready to be ſacrificed.

Having

Having torn this poor Swiſs from the hands of his aſſailants, he conducted him over the bodies of his countrymen to the bar of the National Aſſembly.—" Here (cried the generous Frenchman) let this brave ſoldier find protection—I have ſaved him from the fury of my fellow-citizens, whoſe enemy he never was, and only appeared to be through the error of others; that is now expiated, and Oh! let him in this hall find mercy!"

Having expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms, he threw his arms around the neck of the ſoldier; and overcome by fatigue of body and agitation of mind, he actually fainted in the arms of him whoſe life he had ſaved.

The ſpectators could not but be affected by this ſcene. When the man had by their care recovered his recollection, he begged that he might be permitted to carry the Swiſs to his houſe; for he ſaid it would be

a happineſs to him, to lodge and maintain, during life, the perſon whom he had had the good fortune to ſnatch from death.

Notwithſtanding the indignation which the King and Queen muſt have felt at many things they had heard, they were the firſt who began the applauſe on this occaſion, which inſtantly became univerſal.

The preſident addreſſed the citizen in theſe words: " L'Aſſemblée Nationale vous a entendu avec intérêt. Elle applaudit à votre courage et à votre généroſité*."

Several of the national guards came and congratulated both the Swiſs ſoldier and the citizen who had ſaved him.

A member of the Aſſembly propoſed, that the name of the citizen ſhould be inſerted in the proces verbal, which was in-

* The National Aſſembly has heard you with pleaſure, and applauds your courage and your generoſity.

ſtantly

ſtantly agreed to; and one of the ſecretaries announced, that the generous citizen's name was Clemence, and that he was by profeſſion a wine merchant.

Amidſt the tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt, and thoſe too prevalent of late in this country, it is no ſmall relief to the mind to meet with one of this kind.

On a review of all the well authenticated circumſtances which have come to my knowledge, relative to the affair of the 10th of laſt Auguſt, it ſeems moſt probable that nothing more than a plan of defence was intended in the Tuileries, that the cataſtrophe of that day was owing to the uſurpation of the new council of the Commune de Paris, the murder of Mandat, and the boldneſs of the fœderés from Marſeilles and Brittany.

That if Mandat had refuſed to obey the ſummons of the new council, which he certainly would have done, had he known that

that it was new; had he remained at the Tuileries to encourage the national guards by his preſence and words, and had the council within the palace been more deciſive and uniform, the attack on the Chateau would not have taken place; or, if it had, the event would have been very different, perhaps quite the reverſe of what it was.

To talk of the King as a tyrant, who had formed a plan of bloodſhed, &c. is of a piece with the groundleſs accuſations, which men of all countries, when heated by the ſpirit of party, are apt to throw out againſt their opponents. So very far was Louis XVI. from wiſhing to ſhed the blood of the people, that there is great reaſon to believe that his averſion to every meaſure which might lead to that is one cauſe of the triumph of his enemies, and his own misfortunes.

As to the queſtion of who fired firſt, it

appears

appears of little or no importance; for although it were proved that it was the Swiſs, ſtill it would be clear that the people were the aggreſſors. Did they not ſhew a determination to break into the palace? What were the Swiſs placed there for? Was it to act as gentlemen-uſhers to an armed multitude? No; they certainly did their duty as ſoldiers in firing upon thoſe who came for no other purpoſe than to force their poſt; for whatever orders the King may have given not to fire, it is certain that the Swiſs never received any ſuch: they did not even know that he and the royal family had gone to the National Aſſembly. What motive but the generous ſentiment of defending them from the fury of an outrageous rabble could influence the Swiſs at the time the firing commenced? They ſaw plainly that the cannoniers were againſt them; that the national guards were heſitating, and unwilling

willing to act; and that the fœderés were burſting into the palace. If at ſuch a moment they had remained paſſive, they would have forfeited that reputation of fidelity and courage which belongs to their country.

If orders from the King not to fire had been brought to the Swiſs, which certainly was not the caſe (but let us for a moment ſuppoſe it), even in that caſe the principle of ſelf-defence, as well as the peculiar ſentiments of military men, would have juſtified them in acting as they did; for at the inſtant, before the firing began, the fury of the aſſailants was ſo violent, that the Swiſs had no ſecurity of not being maſſacred if they had not repelled them by firing; and at all events they would have had their arms taken from them—an idea unſupportable to ſoldiers.

On the whole, to imagine that the King's

party were the aggreſſors on the 10th of Auguſt, is as abſurd as to ſuppoſe that the fœderés and their auxiliaries did not march from the ſuburbs of St. Antoine to the Chateau of the Tuileries, but that the Chateau went to the ſuburbs and attacked them.

Auguſt 23.

A prodigious number of people have been arreſted ſince the 10th, and are now in priſon. I am told that a very ſlight cauſe of ſuſpicion is ſufficient to produce theſe new kinds of lettres de cachet, which are iſſued by certain members of the Commune de Paris in great profuſion.

What makes this the more dreadful, is, that thoſe who are arreſted have, at preſent at leaſt, no means of forcing their trial to be brought on within a reaſonable time—ſo that a man, when arreſted and ſent to

priſon, does not know how long he may be confined before he has an opportunity of proving his innocence. It is a great while ſince ſome of the ſtate priſoners at Orleans were confined, who have not yet been able to obtain a trial.

For thoſe reaſons, many perſons who are conſcious of nothing criminal, but merely not being connected with thoſe who projected the inſurrection of the 10th, have withdrawn from Paris, and ſome have abſconded; among the latter is Monſieur Narbonne, late miniſter for the war department. Having heard this gentleman repreſented as a warm friend to the cauſe of freedom, and as I underſtand that the report of the committee on his adminiſtration was entirely in his favour, I was ſurpriſed when firſt told that he had left the country: but the irregular and perſecuting ſpirit which now prevails, and whoſe malignity is pecu-

liarly directed againſt men of noble birth, ſufficiently juſtifies the ſtep he has taken.

M. de Narbonne is as much diſtinguiſhed by his talents as his birth, which renders him ſtill more expoſed to the attacks of envy and malevolence; for every ſpecies of pre-eminence is viewed with jealous eyes during the preſent rage for *égalité* — a term ſo eaſy to be miſconſtrued that it ought never to have been uſed.

I heard a man who is well acquainted with the character of the popular leaders declare, that he was convinced that certain perſons, whom he named, and who are attached to Roland, would very ſoon become odious to theſe leaders, for no other reaſon than that degree of eminence which talents give, and of courſe would be pointed out by the populace as dangerous men.

This kind of jealouſy is more univerſal

than

than may be imagined: in ſome it ariſes from their not being able to endure the conſciouſneſs of inferiority; in others, from an idea that their own intereſt is moſt likely to be hurt by ſuch men; and in a third claſs, from downright ſtupidity, which makes them prefer men like themſelves, and diſlike thoſe of a contrary character.

The preſent ſtate of Paris ſeems what London would be during the ſuſpenſion of the *habeas corpus* act, and a ſuſpenſion of the courts of juſtice at the ſame time.

If thoſe mandates for arreſts are wantonly given, as it is whiſpered to me they are, what a field is opened for the exerciſe of private malice and revenge! Yet theſe people dance about the ſtreets, ſinging hymns to liberty, without regarding the deſpotiſm exerciſed in their ſight, without reflecting that their fellow citizens are impriſoned every day nobody knows why, and that

they themſelves may be arreſted to-morrow with as little reaſon. For my own part, I am exceedingly ſhocked at the accounts I hear of the proceedings of this new court of inquiſition, called I think Comité de Surveillance; and I have no patience with the indifference and gaiety of thoſe who, being more nearly concerned, ought to be more ſhocked than I am.

During the execution of theſe arreſts, the barriers are ſhut, and paſſports are in general refuſed—ſome, however, have been indulged with them. The Abbé Dillon, I am told, preſented himſelf to take the new oath to Liberty and Equality — he was deſired to ſign it—he ſaid, that when he had done ſo he expected a paſſport, as his affairs called him out of Paris. It was anſwered, that he could not have one at that time. How then can I ſwear to maintain liberty, ſaid the Abbé, ſince I find I am not free; or

equality,

equality, when I know that others have had paſſports which are refuſed to me?

I was in the National Aſſembly when the note preſented by the Britiſh miniſter on his being recalled was read; it was heard in ſilence, and no obſervation upon it was made.

All the miniſters were at the bar.

Briſſot then read a memorial to be preſented to the Court of Great Britain, explanatory of the late meaſures. This ſeemed to be heard with approbation.

Auguſt 24.

At the National Aſſembly ſome Chevaliers de St. Louis offered their croſſes as patriotic gifts, and as proofs of their love of equality. The gift is trifling—but the ſpreading this notion of equality may have miſchievous effects: who knows what meaning Le Peuple Souverain may at laſt give to the word égalité?

In the Tuileries and Palais Royal I remarked to-day a greater number than uſual of itinerant haranguers of the populace. On joining the audience, I found that the ſubject at preſent is the *vices of Kings*. The folly, extravagance, and wickedneſs of the French Princes ever ſince the beginning of the monarchy was generally mentioned; and the perfidious cruelty, the effeminacy, the oſtentatious emptineſs, and imbecility of Charles IX. Henry III. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. were particularly pointed out. Henry the Fourth himſelf was not ſpared; his adventure with the Princeſs of Conti, and ſome oppreſſive laws made during his reign reſpecting the preſervation of game, and the ſevere manner in which they had been put in execution, were ſtrongly inſiſted on, to prove that even the beſt of kings are oppreſſors of the people.

It is not probable that men who had even that degree of hiſtorical knowledge which makes

makes them acquainted with the characters of thoſe Kings, would have ſpontaneouſly gone to retail it from a chair or table in thoſe public places.

It follows that all thoſe zealous orators are hired for the purpoſe of inſpiring the people with a horror of monarchy, and with a love of another form of government.—Sometimes two orators ſtand upon oppoſite chairs, and diſpute—one repreſents an ariſtocrate, and ſtarts ſome feeble arguments in favour of monarchy—which are overſet in the inſtant by the arguments of his democratic opponent, who overwhelms the defender of kings and nobles with ridicule, and expoſes him, with thoſe he defends, to the laughter of the audience: in ſhort, every ſpring and engine which can have influence on the minds of the people, is ſet in motion to bias them againſt monarchy, and prepare them for the republican form of government which is certainly intended.

Auguſt 25.

I went this morning to the Temple. Great misfortunes intereſt the mind like great virtues. I do not believe that, during the ſhort ſtay I propoſe to make in France, I ſhould have thought of going to Verſailles, had the Royal Family been living there in the ſame ſplendour I have ſeen them ſurrounded with on former occaſions: but the cruel reverſe they now experience, has ſeldom been abſent from my thoughts ſince the 10th of this month; and although there was little chance of getting even a glimpſe of them, I was attracted to the Temple merely becauſe they are confined within its walls.

This building originally belonged to the order of Knights Templars which aroſe in the time of the earlieſt cruſades, and was deſtroyed, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty, on incredible pretexts, in the year 1313, by the avidity and revenge

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of Philip the Fair, with the concurrence of Pope Clement V. who was then in France. The ground which belongs to the Temple is ſurrounded by a high wall, on part of which are a kind of battlements which, I ſuppoſe, crowned the whole wall formerly. This wall alſo encloſes a garden belonging to the principal body of the building; for a great many houſes and ſeparate buildings have been added, which are inhabited by tradeſmen who enjoy particular privileges, and before the revolution the whole was an aſylum for debtors.

There were a great many of the national guards at the principal gate, and a party under arms in the inner court, when I arrived; but on being informed that there was a particular ſpot behind the building, from which I had a greater probability of having my curioſity gratified, I went there in company with two gentlemen and a valet de place.

We were told that the King and Queen frequently walked in the garden; and that the Prince and Princeſs Royal are ſeen there ſtill oftener; that the King, who diſcovers leſs concern than the reſt, ſometimes aſks queſtions of the workmen who are employed in the garden, and in repairing part of the building.

We ſtood on a ſort of riſing terrace, from whence we could over-look the wall. A perſon whom I accidentally met on the ſpot gave me this information, and pointed out two windows in the tower which he ſaid belonged to the apartment of the King and Queen, and at which they were ſometimes ſeen. While I ſtood looking at theſe windows, occaſionally aſking queſtions of our informer, one of the national guards, who was a ſentinel near the place, came up, and, addreſſing me, ſaid, Vous prolongez vos obſervations un peu trop,

Mon-

Monſieur: paſſez votre chemin, s'il vous plait *.

Before I had time to ſpeak, the valet de place ſaid, Ces meſſieurs ſont des étrangers— des Anglais †.

The ſentinel replied, Ici je ne connais perſonne ‡, and then repeated what he had ſaid.

Mais, Monſieur, pourquoi ‖ ? reſumed the valet.

Pourquoi! ſaid the ſentinel a little fiercely, parcequ'il le faut §.

I checked the valet, and we did what the ſoldier required; for, to borrow an expreſſion of Dr. Johnſon, *the requeſt was reaſonable, and the argument cogent.*

* You prolong your obſervations a little too much, Sir; you had better be gone.

† Theſe gentlemen are ſtrangers; they are Engliſh.

‡ At this place, I make no diſtinction.

‖ But why?

§ Why, becauſe it muſt be ſo.

I am

I am told the King and Queen are more ſtrictly confined ſince Madame de Lamballe was ſent to the Hotel de Force; a proceeding which, of itſelf, is ſufficient to fill them with vexation and terror.

The leaſt attention towards the royal priſoners, beyond what is literally in the inſtructions given to thoſe who attend them, creates ſuſpicion, and gives offence. I was told that only two days ago the Prince Royal and his ſiſter were playing at hand ball in the garden, the King and Queen were looking on; the ball lodged in a part of the wall which the children could not reach; one of the commiſſaries of the commune, who was preſent in the garden, ran with eagerneſs and reached down the ball to the Prince. This ſmall piece of complaiſance has been repeated and blamed.

Independent of every conſideration of humanity, it would be good policy in thoſe who have the government of this country,

to

to treat the King and Royal Family with reſpect and with delicacy; and independent of every conſideration of policy, the ſituation of that unfortunate family is ſo affecting, that it might awaken the feelings of the moſt callous-hearted and intereſted ſtateſmen, and incline them to meaſures of mildneſs, and even of generoſity.

A contrary conduct will double every prejudice againſt the French Revolution, and revolt the friends of freedom from the preſent government of France.

Auguſt 26.

I have heard certain members of the National Aſſembly complain of the delays which have prevented the ſtate priſoners from being brought to trial; particularly thoſe of Orleans. When I firſt heard this mentioned, I imagined it was from goodwill to the priſoners, who had been ſo long confined without being allowed an opportunity

tunity of juſtifying themſelves; but I ſoon found that thoſe who made ſuch complaints, took the guilt of all the priſoners for granted, and were only impatient for their execution. Indeed I heard this avowed one night at the Jacobins, by a ſpeaker whoſe face I had never before ſeen, and whoſe name nobody I queſtioned could inform me of.

After this equitable and humane declaration, he aſſerted that the people expected that ample juſtice ſhould be ſpeedily done on all thoſe traitors; that the patience of the people began to be exhauſted; and then inſinuated, in pretty plain terms, that if *le glaive de la loi* was withheld much longer, the people would ſeize it with their own hands, and do themſelves juſtice.

If I was ſurpriſed at ſuch ſentiments, I was ſtill more to hear them applauded by the audience in the galleries.

I afterwards ſpoke of this to an acquaint-

ance I have made ſince I came laſt to France, a Pariſian. I ſaid "I had taken ſome pains to diſcover the ſentiments of the people on this ſubject, by queſtioning thoſe tradeſmen I had any opportunity of knowing, by frequently converſing with the ſhopkeepers, and with the company I met in coffee-houſes; but I never had perceived in any of them an impatience for the trial or execution of the priſoners; nor had I ever ſeen any ſymptom of a ſanguinary diſpoſition in any of the people, except thoſe in the galleries of the National Aſſembly, and the Jacobin club."

"The people you mention (he replied) are the induſtrious citizens (la bourgeoiſie) of Paris: to them you do no more than juſtice—they certainly are not ſanguinary—though, if they are much longer accuſtomed to ſee heads carried through the ſtreets upon pikes, Heaven knows what they may become. But you muſt remember that the

rabble who inhabit ſome of the ſuburbs, although of a different character, ſtill are the *people* as much as the others. And even with regard to them (continued he), they would know nothing of the priſoners at Orleans or elſewhere, unleſs pains were taken to inform them; and, if left to themſelves, would not trouble their heads about them one way or the other.

"Their rage is ſeldom excited, but by the high price of bread, when the only remedy they think of, is the dragging of a baker or engroſſer à la lanterne: there would terminate their thirſt of blood; they never would have a wiſh for the death of other priſoners, if they were not wrought upon by wicked and ambitious men. And ſtill it may be aſked, what intereſt even thoſe men can have in exciting the minds of the people againſt the priſoners? Why, in ſome it may proceed from a view of being thought very zealous patriots; in others,

from private hatred, or a principle of revenge; and in a third ſet, from a dread of what the priſoners may have it in their power to divulge when ſet at liberty.

" As for the applauſe or murmurs of the tribunes (added he), they are no fair indications of the public opinion.

" People are placed in different parts of the houſe, with directions who and what they are to applaud or condemn. Applauders and murmurers are to be had at all prices; and as females are more noiſy, and to be had cheaper than males, you will obſerve there are generally more women than men in the tribunes."

Such is the moſt probable account I have received on this ſubject; but on whatever principle this rancour againſt the priſoners depends, I am ſorry to ſee it ſo active.

A petition was preſented to the National Aſſembly, complaining of the delay of the High National Court of Juſ-

tice, created for the trial of the priſoners at Orleans, and requeſting its ſuppreſſion; and that theſe priſoners ſhould be directly brought to Paris, and tried by the criminal court lately eſtabliſhed here. This petition was intermingled with inſinuations of the determination of the people to have juſtice; that they would not be trifled with; but, in caſe of longer delay, would be tempted to avenge themſelves.

La Croix the preſident, a man of great firmneſs, made an anſwer which does him honour, importing "that the High Court of Juſtice belonged to the Nation; was inſtituted by the Conſtitution, and could not be ſuppreſſed by the National Aſſembly; that ſuch a power belonged to the Convention only; that beſides, it would be unjuſt to transfer to Judges, choſen by the ſingle commune de Paris, that which the Nation had conſigned to Judges elected by all the ſections of the empire: you have ſworn

equality

equality not only of individual with individual, but with reſpect to all the ſections of France." He finiſhed with theſe words: "Il eſt minuit, et les repréſentans du peuple n'ont point encore ſuſpendu leurs travaux: ſans ceſſe occupés des grands intérêts qui leur ſont confiés, ils n'en ſeront détournés ni par les menaces ni par les dangers *."

There is dignity in this anſwer; but that country muſt be in a ſad ſtate, whoſe legiſlative body are obliged to hear threats from a ſmall portion of the people, without having the power of puniſhing them.

Auguſt 27.

The news arrived yeſterday at the National Aſſembly, that the town of Longwy had ſurrendered to the Pruſſians.

* It is midnight, and the repreſentatives of the people have not yet ended their labours: continually occupied with the great intereſts with which they are entruſted, they will not be prevented either by threats or dangers.

As this place is tolerably well fortified, and had a garriſon of conſiderable force beſides the citizens, the news was unexpected, and made evident impreſſions on the minds of the deputies. After a ſhort ſilence, Jean Debry roſe and made a ſpeech on the preſent ſtate of France; obſerving, that deſtitute of a ſingle ally, and attacked by a coalition of deſpotic princes without provocation, and for no other reaſon than that the French had thrown off a deſpotic and oppreſſive government, and eſtabliſhed a more free and equal one, which the tyrants, who were combined againſt them, imagined might excite their own wretched ſubjects to attempt the ſame; and therefore, forgetting former animoſities, theſe deſpots made a common cauſe againſt France—— he added, that as this was the moſt profligate and extraordinary cauſe of war that the world had ever known, it was neceſſary to repel and put an end to it by extraordinary

nary means. He therefore propoſed that a body of 1200 volunteers ſhould be levied, whoſe buſineſs ſhould principally be——his words are, *dont la miſſion ſera principalement de s'attacher corps à corps aux chefs des armées ennemies, et des rois qui les dirigent*; that is, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould be to aſſaſſinate the Generals and Princes who commanded the armies which attacked France. He propoſed that theſe ſelect volunteers ſhould be divided among the four armies which are now in the pay of France; that they ſhould be clothed and armed in the manner beſt adapted to the purpoſe for which they were to be employed; that they ſhould have two thouſand livres of yearly penſion, with reverſion to their children to the third generation.

This motion was warmly oppoſed by Vergniaud, as unworthy of a free and enlightened nation, equally unjuſtifiable and inexpedient; "for (ſaid he), even if no argu-

ments of juſtice or humanity could be urged againſt ſuch a meaſure, how can you prevent the ſame from being uſed againſt yourſelves? If you form a band of tyrannicides, will not your enemies raiſe brigades for the purpoſe of aſſaſſinating the leaders of your armies? In ſuch a ſituation, whom will you have to command your armies?"

To this it was anſwered, "That the ſame reaſons which are good reſpecting the conduct of other wars, do not apply to this: this is a war of deſpotiſm againſt freedom, and muſt end in the deſtruction of the one or the other. If a ſtranger enters a houſe by violence for the avowed purpoſe of dictating the domeſtic œconomy of the family, ſaying, I do not approve of your plan of life within theſe walls; you muſt arrange matters more to *my* taſte, otherwiſe I will put you all to death—are not the family juſtifiable in deſtroying this intruder by every means in their power?

"Our

" Our enemies, we are told, will make repriſals. They certainly will; but they will as certainly uſe every means in their power for our deſtruction, whether we paſs this decree or not."

Lariviere ſpoke with much fervour againſt the decree. Other members ſpoke perſonally to Jean Debry, urging, that the paſſing ſuch a decree might cauſe the immediate murder of many citizens of the town of Longwy, now in the hands of the Pruſſians.

This laſt argument prevailed. Debry ſaid: " As I conſider the life of one innocent perſon as of more value than any project of decree, I conſent that mine ſhall be ſent to the *commiſſion extraordinaire.*"

Lariviere exclaimed, that even this was unworthy of the French nation, and he demanded the order of the day.

It was ſent however to the committee; and there I hope it will be buried, as it ought, for ever.

It will ſeem ſurpriſing that ſuch a project was produced in the National Aſſembly, and was afterwards approved of by ſome perſons without doors, who quoted the examples of Scævola, Pelopidas, Timoleon, Brutus, and drew a compariſon between this intended brigade of 1200, and the famous band of Greeks who obtained the appellation of the ſacred band. Without entering into the merits of this compariſon, it is evident that the publicity of the decree was a pretty ſure means of rendering it ineffectual.

A report was made to the Aſſembly, that ſeveral members had been indirectly making application for paſſports, that they might leave Paris at this criſis.

It was immediately propoſed to decree, that every deputy who ſhould abandon his poſt at this time, with or without a paſſport, ſhould be declared infamous, and a traitor to his country. Thuriot ſaid, they ought

to

to have ſome mercy on thoſe who quitted a poſt of which they felt themſelves unworthy.

Français de Neufchateau propoſed, that they ſhould ſwear, not to leave their duty as deputies till they ſhould be replaced by thoſe choſen for the National Convention. At the inſtant all the members roſe and pronounced this reſolution ; an account of which was ordered to be ſent to every department of France.

Servan, the miniſter at war, has written to General Luckner in the following terms: the letter was read in the National Aſſembly. " J'ai été comme vous, M. le Maréchal, pénétré d'indignation contre les laches ou les traîtres qui ont livré à l'ennemi la place de Longwy. Comment ! deux mille trois cents hommes de garniſon, dans une place bien fortifiée, bien approviſionnée, ont-ils mis bas les armes, avant d'avoir ſouffert les horreurs d'un ſiege, et d'avoir vu leurs fortereſſes ouvertes

ouvertes en brêches! Et ce ſeroient-là des Français animés de l'eſprit de la liberté? Non, ce ne ſont que des laches!

" J'imagine, M. le Maréchal, que vous n'avez point tardé à aſſembler un cour martial pour juger ces coupables. Qu'ils perdent la vie avec ignominie tandis qu'ils auroient pu la defendre avec honneur, ou la perdre avec gloire, et utilement pour la patrie. Il faut que la France apprenne la punition en même tems que le crime; que cette punition donne du courage aux plus laches, et qu'elle venge le nom Français *."

This

* I was equally with you, Sir, filled with indignation againſt the cowards or traitors who have ſurrendered the town of Longwy to the enemy. How! a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred men, in a place well fortified and well provided, to lay down their arms without having ſuffered the horrors of a ſiege, or any breach having been made in the ramparts! And are thoſe Frenchmen animated with the ſpirit of liberty? No, they are a ſet of cowards.

I imagine,

This letter was univerſally applauded; and a little after M. Dubayet, a lieutenant-colonel of a regiment and member of the Aſſembly, demanded permiſſion to join his regiment then on the frontiers, adding, "I leave all my family as hoſtages."

This was oppoſed; becauſe, as was obſerved, if it was granted, all the military men then in the Aſſembly, who no doubt are equally willing to ſerve againſt the enemy, would demand the ſame permiſſion, which ought to be granted to none, except on condition that they gave in their demiſ-

I imagine, Sir, you have already ordered a court martial to try thoſe criminals: let them loſe their lives with diſgrace, ſince they have not choſen to defend them with honour, or riſked loſing them with glory to themſelves, and utility to their country.

It is expedient that France ſhould hear of the puniſhment as ſoon as the crime, that the puniſhment may give courage to the moſt cowardly, and avenge the French nation.

ſion

ſion as members, that others might be elected in their ſtead.

Dubayet ſaid, That he did not conſider himſelf at liberty to reſign a ſituation to which he was appointed by his country; but that his ſituation was different from that of his brother officers; for the regiment of Bourbonnois, of which he is lieutenant-colonel, is actually on the frontiers, neareſt the enemy, which is not the caſe with reſpect to the regiments to which any other military officer in the Aſſembly belongs. "Ah! de grace, meſſieurs," continued he, "permettez moi d'aller montrer aux braves ſoldats que je commande, un officier qui ne veut point practiſer avec les ennemis de la liberté. Je ne veux point le pardon de ces traîtres; je ne veux point de paix avec les hommes féroces qui devaſtent le pays qui les vit naître; je leur déclare la guerre pour toute ma vie. Permettz moi, d'aller

d'aller les combattre, les vaincre ou mourir *."

One of the members obſerved to him, "Vous avez juré, comme nous, de mourir au poſte où vous êtes, vous ne devez pas oublier ce ſerment †."

The Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day.

There are people who think that, at this criſis, a deputy who leaves the National Aſſembly to join his regiment on the fron-

* For heaven's ſake, gentlemen, allow me to go and ſhew to the brave ſoldiers I command, an officer who will not capitulate with the enemies of liberty; I do not aſk the pardon of thoſe traitors; I deſire no peace with thoſe ferocious men who lay waſte the country which gave them birth; I declare everlaſting war againſt them. Permit me to go and oppoſe them, that I may conquer them, or die.

† You have ſworn, as well as we, to die at the poſt where you now are placed; you ought not to forget that oath.

tiers,

tiers, would quit the poſt of danger for one where he would be ſafer.

The Aſſembly have decreed, that there ſhall be an immediate levy of 30,000 men in Paris and the neighbouring departments. A number of petitions were read, ſome of them more remarkable for zeal than wiſdom; but as they were all expreſſive of patriotiſm, they were heard with patience by the Aſſembly, and with applauſe by the galleries.

A great number of patriotic donations, of no great value, were made; chaſſeurs, who are to ſet out immediately to the frontiers, require the honour of marching through the hall: this is never refuſed.

The ſtudents of a college collect a ſmall ſum, and preſent it for the uſe of the widows and orphans of thoſe killed on the 10th. One man ſends a piece of old plate; another, having no plate, ſends his ſilver buckles; one ſends four or five muſkets; another as many ſwords, for the uſe of thoſe who

march to the frontiers. A body of cannoniers appear at the bar, and deſire a piece of ground to practiſe in. "The enemy are advancing," ſaid the ſpeaker: "vos braves cannoniers brûlent de les terraſſer."

It is natural for ſtrangers to blame the Aſſembly for allowing their deliberations to be interrupted in this manner.

It ought to be remembered, however, that the ſerious part of the buſineſs is carried on in committees, free from all diſorder and interruption.

It ſhould likewiſe be remembered, that many of thoſe things which create noiſe, tend to keep the people in good humour, which of itſelf is a great point; they alſo contribute to keep alive that enthuſiaſm which alone can enable the French nation to withſtand the powerful combined attack which bears from all quarters againſt it.

Servan's letter was a cordial well calculated for preventing the increaſe of that de-

jection which the news of the ſurrender of Longwy had begun to ſpread. A member ſoon after aſcended the tribune, and deſired to acquaint the audience with the diſpoſitions in which the citizens of Sarrelouis were. He then read a letter from the magiſtrates. They write, that the enemy are within a league of their town. "In a few days we ſhall hear the roaring of their cannon (add they), and we expect to be beſieged immediately; but our inhabitants and garriſon, ſo far from imitating thoſe of Longwy, are determined to be cut to pieces *(de ſe faire hacher)* rather than give up the town."

How the magiſtrates and inhabitants of Sarrelouis will behave when it is brought to the teſt, nobody can tell; but nothing can be more certain than that their letter had an admirable effect upon the people in the tribunes, who, by their enthuſiaſtic applauſe, plainly ſhewed that they thought no more of the loſs of Longwy.

It muſt be confeſſed, that thoſe people have a moſt happy diſpoſition for viewing objects in a favourable light, who are comforted for the *actual* loſs of one town, by the *promiſe* that another will be better defended.

Auguſt 28.

Lord Gower and his family left Paris yeſterday to return to England: this gives more concern to many of the moſt intelligent of the French, than even the ſurrender of Longwy. They conſider his Lordſhip's recall as a pretty ſtrong preſumption of the unfavourable diſpoſition of the Britiſh Court. Independent of all political conſiderations, which may be ſuppoſed to incline them to keep well with Great Britain at this particular juncture, I am greatly deceived if they have not a higher eſteem for the national character, and more good-will to the individuals of it, than for thoſe of

any other country in Europe. They alſo imagine it is for the mutual intereſt of both countries, that they ſhould continue on good terms. They allow that at the preſent moment France has a more preſſing intereſt in this good fellowſhip than England; but they aſſert it is the reverſe in general.

The French think they are loſers by the commercial treaty; and they pretend that they abide by it notwithſtanding, to give an unequivocal proof of good faith and good will to the Engliſh nation.

Talking very lately with a Frenchman on this ſubject, he obſerved, that he underſtood it to be a prevailing notion in England, that the Engliſh are better fighters and worſe negociators than the French; "but continued he), without admitting the truth of the firſt part of that opinion, I imagine there cannot be a ſtronger proof of the fallacy of the ſecond, than the late commercial treaty, by which England has gained

more

more from France than ſhe ever did by the moſt ſucceſsful war."

That prejudice in favour of the character of its own inhabitants, which I know no nation devoid of, I believe the French poſſeſs in full as great a degree as their neighbours: it would be very ſingular if they did not, conſidering how much their manners have been imitated, and their writings admired, by all Europe for theſe two centuries paſt.

But with whatever complacency they contemplate themſelves, the very loweſt among the French ſhew no poſitive hatred to foreigners. They may perhaps imagine that it is an honour to be born in France; but they do not think it a diſgrace to be born elſewhere, as the people of the ſame rank in England certainly do.

If a French coachman or fiſh-woman quarrel with a foreigner, they will make no ſcruple to give him the worſt name they

can think of; but after they have called him a ſcoundrel, or whatever other abuſive name occurs, they do not add, by way of aggravation, *Italian* ſcoundrel, *German* ſcoundrel, or *Engliſh* ſcoundrel; whereas thoſe who deal in this kind of rhetoric in England, are never contented with calling a foreigner, whom they abuſe, a ſcoundrel, becauſe poſſibly the by-ſtanders might imagine him only an Engliſh ſcoundrel, and of courſe merely on a level with honeſt men of other nations; they therefore add the name of the country the man comes from, by way of conſummating his infamy.

This however is not always conſidered as an injury. In the year 1745, a Scottiſh ſoldier of the rebel army, who was wounded at the affair of Clifton, and unable to march with the corps to which he belonged when they left Carliſle, was taken priſoner with the garriſon, which conſiſted almoſt entirely of Engliſhmen.

A ſoldier

A ſoldier of the King's army, who was ſentinel at the priſon where this man was confined, told him one day, on his enquiring for the ſurgeon—" You need not trouble yourſelf about a ſurgeon; for I can aſſure you, that you are to be hanged very ſoon *for a Scotch rebel.*"

" Thanks to you kindly, Sir, for your information (replied the wounded man, in the accent of his country); for, as I was found in a garriſon of the natives, I was juſt fearing they would, may be, have hanged me for an *Engliſh one.*"

An addreſs from the National Aſſembly to the inhabitants of the French frontiers was read by M. Vergniaud, who is reckoned, in point of eloquence, to be equal, if not ſuperior, to any of the preſent deputies.

" Citoyens,

" Votre poſition vous aſſure la gloire de combattre les premiers les ennemis de la

liberté. La nation compte ſur votre courage; comptez ſur ſa reconnoiſſance. Vos enfans ſeront ceux de la patrie, et partout vous trouverez des compagnons de gloire, ou des vengeurs *."

The three commiſſioners, Kerſaint, Antonelle, and Peraldy, ſent from the National Aſſembly on the night of the 10th to the army commanded by M. la Fayette, appeared this day in the hall. As the duty they were ſent on was of a very dangerous nature, and had been attended with more ſucceſs than many people expected, they were received with long continued applauſes.

Kerſaint, with manly and perſpicuous eloquence, narrated the various incidents which had occurred during their expedition.

* Your ſituation ſecures to you the honour of being the firſt to engage the enemies of liberty. Your country relies upon your courage; do you rely on her gratitude. Your children will be adopted as hers; and you will find every where partakers of your glory, or avengers of your death.

M. la

M. la Fayette, by a ſingular accident, was informed of what had happened on the 10th, before the accounts were brought to any other perſon in his army.

He had ſent M. Darblais, an officer of diſtinction in the army, with diſpatches of great importance, and ſome confidential meſſages to the War Miniſter. M. Darblais arrived within a little of Paris on the morning of the 11th. Having changed horſes, he was ſtepping into his chaiſe, when a grenadier of the national guards, who had juſt arrived from Paris, ſaw him, and advertiſed him of the danger of continuing his route.

Some municipal officers, who had heard what the grenadier ſaid, made difficulties reſpecting his being allowed to return. Theſe difficulties were removed with infinite addreſs and preſence of mind on the part of Darblais, who poſted back with all imaginable ſpeed to M. la Fayette, whom he found at Sedan, and informed him of all

he knew. M. la Fayette, having given what account of this buſineſs he thought moſt expedient, deſired the magiſtrates of Sedan to arreſt the three commiſſaries of the National Aſſembly as ſoon as they ſhould arrive, and then he ſet out for the army. The commiſſaries were arreſted accordingly; and they were detained in priſon from the 14th at night till the morning of the 20th. During this period, M. la Fayette finding that the army would not ſupport him, but were determined to obey the orders of the National Aſſembly, thought it neceſſary to withdraw, accompanied by M. Darblais and ſome of his chief officers. The magiſtrates of Sedan, being now ſenſible of their error, releaſed the commiſſaries, and implored their protection.

Kerſaint interceded with the Aſſembly in their favour: "*Oubliez leurs fautes comme nous les oublions**," ſaid he in his

* Forget their faults as we do.

ſpeech

ſpeech from the tribune; and then proceeded to give an account of his reception by the army. Nothing certainly could be more critical than the ſituation in which that army ſeems to have then been; near to the enemy; abandoned by their principal officers; and ignorant, till the arrival of the commiſſaries, what they ought to do.

When theſe commiſſaries left Paris, it was believed by ſome people, with whom I converſed, that they would be put to death as ſoon as they ſhould arrive at the army; and I ſee ſome perſons who ſtill think *that* would have been the caſe, if they had got there as ſoon as they intended.

But what entirely refutes this ſuppoſition, is M. la Fayette's having directed the magiſtrates to ſtop them at Sedan. If he had had any deſign of deſtroying them, and believed that the army alſo were ſo diſpoſed, he would not have prevented their coming on.

M. Ker-

M. Kerſaint in his ſpeech ſtates much matter of accuſation againſt la Fayette, yet it ſeems evident that he was not in intelligence with the enemy; for, if he had, it would have been eaſy for him to have given them ſuch information as would have brought them upon his army when they were deprived of their commanders, and in that ſurpriſe and confuſion which ſuch a ſtate muſt neceſſarily produce. But the enemy made no attempt on the French army during this critical period; which of itſelf refutes part of the calumny with which M. la Fayette has been purſued, and renders what is aſſerted by his friends very probable—that although he was preſſed by every motive of perſonal ſafety to haſten his departure, he did not leave his army till after he had made ſuch a diſpoſition as put it out of the enemy's power to attack it.

I cannot anſwer all the charges I daily hear brought againſt M. la Fayette; but they

are of too general a nature, and urged with too much paſſion, to convince me that the friend of Waſhington, the man who ſhewed ſuch a love for the cauſe of freedom, both in America and in France, ſhould, all at once, become a traitor.

Auguſt 29.

If there was nothing elſe to ruin the public affairs of France, the continual accuſations againſt all men in office, whether military or civil, would be ſufficient for that purpoſe: men ſeem to be ſuſpected of treachery on no ſtronger grounds, than becauſe treachery is in their power. But it is impoſſible to put any man into an office of public truſt, without putting treachery in his power: at this rate, therefore, every man enjoying an office of truſt will be ſuſpected: in ſuch a ſtate of things, how can government go on?

General Luckner, who is at the head of the

the army, is often abuſed in the public prints, which appear here in vaſt profuſion; and inſinuations of the moſt malignant nature, and probably without foundation, are daily ſpread againſt him. General Arthur Dillon is expoſed to attacks of the ſame nature.

It might have been hoped, that the recent and deplorable fate of this gentleman's friend and relation, Theobald Dillon, maréchal-de-camp, would have produced a little caution and delicacy towards officers of that name.

It is above a century ſince that gallant family, originally from Ireland, were naturalized in France.

The unfortunate General Theobald Dillon was about the end of April laſt ordered upon an expedition from Lille to Tournay. The party under his command, at ſight of the Auſtrians, cried out, Traitor! and fled. A dragoon, whom the General attempted

to

to ſtop, fired his piſtol and wounded him, while another wounded his aide-de-camp in the ſame manner, and threw him from his horſe.

On his return to Lille, the ſoldiers aſſaſſinated their commander, and alſo Colonel Berthois, the chief engineer, to cover their own cowardice or treachery; for it is believed by many, that ſome ſoldiers had been bribed by the enemy to ſpread the notion that the French army was betrayed by their officers, which occaſioned the diſorder and flight of the troops, and the murder of their leaders.

Juſtice was afterwards done to the good faith and good conduct of Dillon and Berthois, by a court martial, and the aſſaſſins puniſhed. The National Aſſembly alſo made all the reparation in their power to their families. A penſion was given to the wife and children of Colonel Berthois. General Dillon was not married; but he had

had lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy with Joſephine de Feville, by whom he had two ſons and a daughter. The youngeſt ſon was born at Lille, at the time his father was murdered, and the infant was carried to baptiſm acroſs the ſquare on which the mangled body of the father ſtill lay. The wretched mother, terrified by a report that the aſſaſſins intended to deſtroy herſelf and her children, roſe from her bed, and in that diſmal condition walked on foot three quarters of a league, to the houſe of M. d'Aumont, a French officer and the friend of Dillon; where ſhe and her children were hoſpitably entertained for a long time, during which ſhe had languiſhed under a diſeaſe, the conſequence of her terror and fatigue. A narrative of theſe affecting circumſtances was read in the Aſſembly; together with the laſt will of Theobald Dillon, written in his own hand at Lille, immediately before he ſet out on this unfortunate

expedition. In this teſtament he recommends his children and their mother to the friendſhip and affection of his ſiſters and relations, in the moſt pathetic terms.

This laſt proof of the tenderneſs of a brave ſoldier, to thoſe moſt dear to him, had great effect on the National Aſſembly; they immediately decreed a penſion of 1500 livres to Joſephine de Feville during her life, and one of 800 livres to each of her three children.

This plan of ſpreading reports of treachery among the Generals having ſucceeded in this inſtance, encourages them to try it in others. A rumour began to circulate lately, that General Dumourier had paſſed over to the enemy: this however will go no great length: a man was ſent to priſon for repeating it in a coffee-houſe, with this addition, that the Pruſſians gave no quarter.

It is generally thought that there are many agents now in Paris, employed by

the emigrant princes to circulate alarming reports of this nature, and to create univerſal diſtruſt and ſuſpicion. This, at leaſt, is infinitely more probable than the ridiculous fiction, which however I find is credited by many, namely, that the guineas of the Britiſh treaſury are ſcattered over the ſuburbs of St. Antoine, to keep up the ſpirit of diſcord and ſedition.

Several perſons, I am told, have received anonymous letters within theſe few days, from pretended friends, earneſtly entreating them to fly from Paris with all poſſible expedition, as events of the moſt dreadful nature are about to happen.

Letters from unknown friends are generally dictated by real enemies; and thoſe diſperſed on the preſent occaſion, are probably intended to augment the inquietude which begins to diſturb the thoughts of that portion of the inhabitants of this metropolis who ever think at all.

It

It is hardly poſſible to conceive what abſurd and inhuman ſuggeſtions ariſe from fear. A ſtronger inſtance cannot well be given than what took place this day in the National Aſſembly; where a member diſcovered danger and deſtruction advancing, not from the diſciplined battalions of Pruſſia, or the vengeful ſquadrons of the Emperor, but from the languid hands of a woman ſhut up in a priſon and oppreſſed with aggravated calamity.

" Be aſſured (cried this man) that there ſtill exiſts a conſpiracy in Paris, every minute part of which it is your duty to trace. The vigilance of the guards on the Temple has been lulled. The priſoners there have found means of communication with the traitors at Coblentz. N'eſt-ce pas aſſez (continued this unrelenting man) que cette femme barbare, que cette femme bourreau, s'occupe dans ſa re-

traite des moyens de ſe baigner encore dans le ſang des Francois ? N'eſt-ce pas aſſez qu'elle reſpire encore, ſans que vous la laiſſiez renouer ſes trames contre-révolutionnaires ? Otez-lui tous les moyens de correſpondre avec nos ennemis, et que Louis XVI. livré à ſa lourde nullité, ne correſponde plus qu'avec ſa honte et ſes remords. Je demande, 1. que l'on cherche la preſſe dont ſe ſervent encore les conſpirateurs : 2. que tous les membres qui compoſent la famille du Roi, ſoient enfermés ſéparément ſans aucune communication entre eux et enfermés avec le dehors *."

This

* Is it not enough that this barbarous woman is employed in her confinement in ſchemes to enable her again to bathe herſelf in the blood of Frenchmen ? Is it not enough that ſhe ſtill breathes, without your permitting her to renew her plots againſt the revolution ? Deprive her of the means of correſponding with our enemies, and let the weighty nullity of Louis XVI. have

no

This vile ſpeech was applauded by the tribunes.——They ſurely import negro-drivers from the Weſt Indies to place in thoſe tribunes.

The firſt article only, however, was adopted by the Aſſembly; the other was rejected.

All this terror of a conſpiracy aroſe from a book lately publiſhed, entitled—Les Bienfaits de l'Aſſemblée Nationale, ou Entretiens de Madame Saumon.

This book, the orator ſaid, turned the National Aſſembly into ridicule, and filled him with horror. I queſtion much, how-

no correſpondence of any kind, except with his ſhame and with his remorſe.

I require in the firſt place, that ſearch may be made for the preſs of which the conſpirators make uſe; in the ſecond place, that all the members of the King's family ſhall be ſeparately confined, without any communication with each other, or with any perſon out of the priſon.

ever, if it is half ſo ridiculous as his ſpeech; I am ſure it will not fill me with more horror.

Auguſt 30.

The National Aſſembly ſeem diſpoſed to behave with republican ſternneſs to thoſe who diſappoint the expectations of their country when before the enemy.

Some ſoldiers of the garriſon of Longwy appeared at the bar, to give an account of the reduction of the place, and apologize for the conduct of the inhabitants and garriſon. They accuſed their officers and the magiſtrates; they ſaid they had narrowly eſcaped being maſſacred by the Pruſſians, who had promiſed them the honours of war. "You deſerved the treatment you received," cried ſome of the members.

What could a garriſon of eight hundred men do, when attacked by ſixty thouſand?

"You might have died," was the cry of the

the Aſſembly; in imitation no doubt of the *qu'il mourût* of Corneille.

The ſoldiers finiſhed their memorial, by proteſting that they were determined on the firſt opportunity to avenge their country and prove their courage.

This declaration was heard with a murmur of incredulity, and their memorial was ſent to the *Commiſſion Extraordinaire*.

A letter was read yeſterday in the National Aſſembly from Merlin, one of the magiſtrates of Thionville, and father to the deputy. He writes that the inhabitants expect ſoon to be beſieged, but are determined to be blown up with the town, rather than ſurrender.

On which Jean Debry exclaimed with fervour—"The moſt inſtant and vigorous meaſures muſt be adopted in defence of our country; the expence muſt not be thought of: within fifteen days we ſhall enjoy freedom, or meet with death. If we are con-

quered, we ſhall have no need of money, for we ſhall not exiſt—If we are victorious, ſtill we ſhall not feel the want of money, for we ſhall be *free.*"

In conſequence of a mandate from the municipality of Paris, which ſeems to be the ſole executive power, each ſection was ordered to chooſe commiſſaries for making a general ſearch for arms and ſuſpected perſons.

This ſearch was made accordingly in the courſe of laſt night and this morning. The commiſſaries were attended with a body of the national guards, and all avenues of the ſections were watched to prevent any perſon from eſcaping. They did not come to our hotel till about ſix in the morning. I attended them through every room, and opened every door of our apartment. They behaved with great civility; we had no arms but piſtols, which lay openly on the chimney.

The

They admired the nicety of the workmanſhip of one pair, but never offered to take them.

I underſtand that a conſiderable number of muſkets have been ſeized, and many people arreſted. The maſter of our hotel was on guard laſt night; I ſaw him return this morning in his warlike attire. He talked a good deal of the fatigue he had undergone, and hinted a little of the dangers to which he had been expoſed in the courſe of this ſevere duty.

Being aſked if he had been ſucceſsful in his ſearch after ſuſpected perſons—

"Oui, milord, infiniment"—

He could not have looked more lofty if he had taken the Duke of Brunſwick—

"Notre bataillon a attrapé quatre prêtres *."

I do not hear that thoſe poor men are accuſed of any other crime than that of not

* Our battalion has caught four prieſts.

having

having taken the oath to the new conſtitution: this ſeems a preſumption that they are men of principle, guided by the dictates of conſcience, whether well or ill informed, and ought to ſubject them to no puniſhment—yet they were carried to the priſon of the Abbaye.

When men's minds are agitated with party and political diſſenſions, they are apt to loſe all idea of juſtice and candour.

The clergy in general are extremely odious in France at preſent. They certainly have been hardly uſed; and it is an old obſervation, that men often hate thoſe they have wronged. The clergy have unqueſtionably loſt influence in every country of Europe of late years; but more in France than any where elſe. What an alteration ſince the war of the League, and even ſince the revocation of the edict of Nantz!

This body of men have been always expoſed to the indiſcriminating ſatire of witlings,

lings and profligates; but now, in this country, men of grave and *ſerious* characters turn alſo againſt them. A member of the National Aſſembly, and of the foregoing deſcription, had occaſion yeſterday in the Aſſembly to ſay ſomething in favour of an eccleſiaſtic: he added, "He is indeed the honeſteſt prieſt I am acquainted with—for I never was acquainted with another."

The Aſſembly laughed. I did not join, becauſe I have been far more fortunate in my acquaintance with that order of men, than the deputy. But what ſhould ſhock ſincere catholics ſtill more, was what happened two days ſince in the Aſſembly.—Certain citizens brought to the bar a ſilver ſtatue of St. Roche. "We have often addreſſed prayers to our St. Roche (ſaid one of them) againſt the political plague which makes ſuch ravages in France—he has given us no anſwer—we imagine his ſilence may poſſibly be owing to his form; and there-

fore

fore bring him to you, that he may be converted into ſpecie; hoping that, in this new ſhape, he will better contribute to drive the peſtiferous race of our enemies out of France."

This harangue was heard with applauſe by the Aſſembly and Tribunes, and the ſaint was conducted to the mint.

A report of the moſt abſurd nature prevails at preſent; it is circulated by many, and believed by ſome, that there is a plan for placing his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York on the throne of France. It is thought that this meaſure would ſecure to France an alliance with Great Britain, and with Pruſſia; and on that account it may, perhaps, be wiſhed by more people in this country than can poſſibly believe it. It cannot be wiſhed for by any who are intereſted in the continuation of the Duke's happineſs.

In the preſent diſpoſition of the French nation,

nation, the crown of France is aſſuredly not an object of deſire.

Auguſt 31.

As much pains is taken to ſpirit up the people againſt prieſts, as againſt ariſtocrates. One reaſon, no doubt, is, becauſe the clergy in general are ariſtocrates; another is the diſlike which a number of people, independent of politics, bear to a ſet of men who, by profeſſion, are obliged to cenſure and condemn the mode of life which thoſe people chooſe to live.

Then it is ſo eaſy a thing to pick out ſufficient matter for an abuſive pamphlet, from the writings which at all times have appeared againſt the prieſthood, and apply them to the clergy of the preſent times, although as different from each other, as the preſent race of Pariſians are from the ancient Gauls, or the Pariſians of the League.

One

One powerful engine that has been brought to bear againſt the clergy, as well as againſt the monarchy, is that old enemy of the former, the Stage. I lately ſaw Les Victimes Cloîtrés at the Théâtre de la Nation; a piece evidently written to inſpire horror and indignation againſt the prieſthood, and to place monks in particular in the moſt atrocious point of view. The part was played by Fleuri, an admirable actor, eaſy and elegant in comedy; full of energy, and pathetic in the higheſt degree, in tragedy; quite free from that pompous ſwell and ſtrut ſo common in French tragic acting, and which certainly never prevailed in real life among the ſons of men.

Mademoiſelle Contade is at the head of French comic acting; and it is in comic acting that the French excel. Here you ſee the poliſhed manners of high life repreſented without grimace or affectation; and all the

nature and ſimplicity of the inferior ranks without vulgarity.

The French actors and actreſſes poſſeſs beſide, particularly in their comic operas, a bewitching gaiety and playfulneſs of manner, which is attempted without ſucceſs on other ſtages.

The arreſting of citizens, by orders from the conſeil des repréſentans de la commune, continues, and gives alarm and uneaſineſs to many for themſelves or relations: ſome have been taken up of late who were always conſidered as warm patriots. I am informed of this with caution; for it is not thought quite ſafe to complain of thoſe, who, by ſome means or other, poſſeſs almoſt the whole power of the ſtate.

Complaints of this tyranny, however, have been made in the National Aſſembly; and Vergniaud has declaimed againſt it with the moſt affecting eloquence. There can be no doubt of his having convinced them of the

the greatneſs of the grievance, and given them all the deſire poſſible to redreſs it; but there is reaſon to believe that the Aſſembly itſelf is under the influence of terror.

The walls of Paris are at this moment covered with addreſſes to the people againſt particular deputies—with inſinuations that the majority are infected with ariſtocracy. Theſe papers are not all anonymous; ſome of the moſt abuſive are ſigned *Marat*, the name of a *pretended* patriot, and, from every account I have received, a *real* incendiary.

Symptoms of miſunderſtanding between the Aſſembly and the conſeil de la commûne have appeared pretty evidently of late. As the Aſſembly are the repreſentatives of the whole French nation, and the council is compoſed of men deputed from the different ſections of Paris, it is plain that the council ought to be ſubordinate to the Aſſembly; but by intrigue and management, during the diſorders which have exiſted

ſince

ſince the 10th of Auguſt, the council have acquired the aſcendancy.

The active citizens of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau are more at the command of the latter than of the former; and at preſent the inhabitants of thoſe two ſuburbs are all that is felt in Paris of the Peuple Souverain. What the Convention may be able to effect, there is no knowing; but there is little probability that *this* National Aſſembly, which is on the point of diſſolution, will ever acquire the aſcendancy it ought; and that the Conventional Aſſembly ſhould ever have an exiſtence, ſeems daily more and more problematical.

Commiſſaries are appointed by the National Aſſembly to every ſection of the department of Paris and in the neighbourhood, for the purpoſe of promoting the new levies; which go on ſo ſucceſsfully, that they will be completed within a very few days, although only two men ſhould be choſen out of three

of thoſe who offer themſelves. To encourage thoſe who work at the entrenchments now forming round Paris, ſome citizens in eaſy and opulent circumſtances go there daily, and not only treat the hired labourers with occaſional refreſhments, but work with perſevering aſſiduity themſelves.

It appears ſingular, that, in the midſt of this general alarm, the National Aſſembly was occupied, a conſiderable portion of yeſterday, on an intended decree, the object of which is to facilitate the means of divorce.

September 11.

In the preſent agitation of men's minds, with that prejudice and reſentment which it creates, there is reaſon to fear that the courts of juſtice, as well as the National Aſſembly, are obliged to pay too much attention to the opinions of the people without doors.

A criminal court was lately appointed for the purpoſe of trying the criminals of

the

the 10th of Auguſt. One d'Angremont was the firſt priſoner brought before this tribunal. He had formerly been ſecretary to the adminiſtration of the national guards, at the office of the Maiſon de Ville, where he was placed by the late miniſters; and was now accuſed of being the chief of a great band of men, raiſed and employed for the purpoſe of making anti-revolutional motions in clubs; holding diſcourſes of the ſame nature on the terrace of the Feuillans, the gardens of the Palais Royal, and other places of public reſort, with an intention to excite ſedition, and raiſe the people to inſurrections againſt the National Aſſembly, and the public magiſtrates, particularly the mayor and other patriots.

This band was divided into detachments of ten men each, every detachment having a captain and lieutenant. The pay of the captains was ten livres; that of the lieutenants five; and that of each pri-

vate man two livres ten ſols daily. They had particular ſigns and words, by which they knew each other, at the public walks, at the tribunes, and wherever the citizens aſſemble. They alſo carried a ſtick of a particular kind, which they called the *conſtitution*.

The number was ſaid to amount in all to 1500 men. D'Angremont paid and directed the whole. The captains gave an account daily to him of whatever had paſſed: and he made a kind of return of this in three notes; one to the King himſelf, and the two others to two perſons in public office.

The advocate for the priſoner, beſides various other defences, pleaded, that as his client had been arreſted on the eighth or ninth of Auguſt, he could not be judged by a tribunal conſtituted for the trial of crimes committed on the 10th. But as that which the priſoner was accuſed of

referred

referred to what happened on the 10th, this plea was over-ruled.

After a trial of thirty hours, three propoſitions were given to the jury to deliberate upon. They remained three hours encloſed. On their return to court, the firſt article was ſtated to them by the judge:

" Do you find it proved, that there was on the 10th of Auguſt a conſpiracy within the Tuileries to excite a civil war in the country?"

The foreman of the jury anſwered in the negative. On this there was a general murmur among the audience.

The judge next demanded—" Do you find that there was a deſign in the Tuileries of ſeizing unconſtitutional power?"

To this queſtion the jury anſwered in the affirmative.

" Do you find it proved that the priſoner was engaged in this deſign?"

The jury found this proved alſo. After

they had given their verdict, the commiſſaire, according to the French phraſe, applied the law.

D'Angremont was condemned to be beheaded. As he retired from the court, the people having perceived that he wore the uniform of the national guards, two of them went into the priſon of the Conciergerie, where this poor man was conducted after receiving his ſentence, and informed him that the people required that he ſhould not appear on the ſcaffold in that dreſs. The priſoner immediately took his coat off.

Five hours after his condemnation, he was brought to the place of the Carouſel, and executed by torch-light. When he mounted the ſcaffold, the ſpectators teſtified their joy by acclamation and clapping their hands; which ſavage ſign of ſatisfaction they redoubled when his head, being ſevered from his body, was held up to their view by the executioner.

This

This was no great proof of their patriotiſm, though perhaps ſome of them intended it as ſuch; but it was a moſt complete one of their brutality.

Le Peuple Souverain begins to grow as cruel as other deſpots.

M. Laporte, intendant de la liſte civile, was brought next before the ſame tribunal. He was accuſed of having employed the money of the civil liſt in printing and publiſhing an immenſe number of pamphlets, libels, and placards, the tendency of which was to ſpirit up the people againſt the patriots, and bring about a counter-revolution; employing and paying a number of agents for the ſame purpoſe; remitting money to the emigrants at Coblentz, particularly to the King's body guards, who were in that city.

In general he denied theſe charges. The evidence adduced againſt him conſiſted chiefly of papers and letters found in the

King's cabinet on the 10th of Auguſt. A great many letters were found alſo among his own papers from perſons who profeſſed great loyalty, and willingneſs to riſk their lives in defence of the King; and requeſting tickets to be admitted into the gardens of the Tuileries, and alſo into the palace itſelf, during the time that the former were kept ſhut from the public.

M. Laporte was aſked how many of thoſe tickets *he* had diſtributed. He anſwered, None; that being the buſineſs of the governor of the Tuileries.

He was aſked how many had been diſtributed. He anſwered, About 2000.

He was ſhewn an order ſigned by him, addreſſed to the Marechaux de logis, ordering them to prepare accommodations for ſome officers of the Swiſs guards, on the 9th of Auguſt, in the Chateau. Another order ſigned by him to the commiſſary of the magazine, for 400 bed covers for Swiſs guards

guards on the 9th. He acknowledged theſe ſignatures.

Being aſked of how many the Swiſs guard conſiſted that night, he anſwered, that he did not know the exact number; but that it was double the uſual number.

Being aſked if he had not paid the gardes du corps at Coblentz; if he had not tranſmitted money to the King's brothers and other emigrants:—To theſe, and all queſtions of a nature to criminate himſelf eſſentially, he anſwered in the negative.—It ſeems ſtrange to a Britiſh ſubject, that the court allowed ſuch queſtions to be perſiſted in. If they had proof, they might have brought it forth; but it is highly unbecoming a court of juſtice to endeavour to entrap a priſoner by drawing it from his own mouth. They not only did ſo, but, as it was then beginning to grow duſkiſh, the national commiſſary required that lights might be placed near M. Laporte, that the jury might obſerve

ſerve the various impreſſions which the queſtions made on his countenance.

What a very fallible kind of evidence muſt this have afforded!

None but ſkilful phyſiognomiſts ought to have been on this jury.

He was aſked if he did not keep up a correſpondence with the priſoners at Orleans.

He anſwered, that of all the ſtate priſoners there, he knew only MM. de Briſſac and Deleſſart; the firſt he had been acquainted with at ſchool; the other he knew only after he was miniſter; but that he had kept up a correſpondence with neither.

There muſt have been a great deficiency of direct and ſubſtantial evidence, when they were reduced to dwell on ſuch weak circumſtances.

He was told by the court, that if he had been a good citizen, he would have informed the National Aſſembly of the great expence which Louis XVI. was at to maintain

maintain counter-revolution agents, and a counter-revolution ſpirit in Paris.

He anſwered, that by his office he was to pay thoſe who brought orders from the King. What man of worth would have accepted of the office, if he had been told that it was expected he was to do the duty of a ſpy? or to accuſe the King before the National Aſſembly, as often as he ſpent his money improperly?

The public accuſer recapitulated the charges and evidence; and the jury having withdrawn for two hours, declared that the priſoner was convicted of having expended immenſe ſums of money, to foment a civil war, and by that means reſtore the ancient deſpotiſm.

He was condemned to loſe his head.

M. Laporte heard the ſentence pronounced without apparent emotion; and with equal calmneſs liſtened to a kind of exhorta-

exhortation addreſſed to him by the preſident.

He then, without taking notice of the preſident, or his exhortation, turned to the audience, and ſaid: "Citoyens, je proteſte que je meurs innocent; puiſſe l'effuſion de mon ſang ramener la tranquillité du royaume!—mais j'en doute*."

M. Laporte retained the ſame manly behaviour to his laſt moment; his appearance on the ſcaffold was modeſt and dignified, ſo as to move the compaſſion of many, and command the reſpect of all the ſpectators.

Duroſoy, a man of letters, formerly editor of the Gazette de Paris, and of another public paper entitled Le Royaliſme, was next brought to the bar. He was accuſed of a criminal correſpondence with the ene-

* Citizens, I proteſt that I die innocent; may the effuſion of my blood reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom!——but I doubt it.

mies

mies of the revolution, both within and without the kingdom; with being the author of anti-revolution writings; with being involved in the guilt of the 10th of Auguſt; and with having inſerted in the Gazette de Paris, of the 9th of Auguſt, a plan of defence, in caſe the Chateau of the Tuileries ſhould be attacked.

He denied having any connexion with the 10th of Auguſt; that he was then at Auteuil; and ſaid that the article complained of was inſerted in the Gazette without his knowledge. Notwithſtanding a very eloquent defence, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned like the reſt.

He heard his ſentence with equal firmneſs, ſaying, "Un royaliſte comme moi devoit mourir le jour de St. Louis*."

He preſerved his courage on the ſcaffold,

* It becomes a royaliſt, ſuch as I am, to die on St. Lewis's day.

and

and was beheaded amidſt the cries of Vive la Nation !

The court in the next inſtance tried M. D'Oſſonville, juge de paix. He was accuſed of having protected D'Angremont and his accomplices as often as they were brought before him; and of being an accomplice of his in his anti-revolution proceedings, and involved in the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt.

The chief foundation of the accuſation againſt this man was, that his name was inſcribed in a regiſter, found in D'Angremont's poſſeſſion, as the judge before whom he and all his partiſans were to carry every appeal or diſpute they ſhould have; and it was proved that there was a conſiderable connexion between them.

The jury was encloſed two hours, and then gave a ſpecial verdict, That D'Oſſonville had co-operated in the plan of D'Angremont,

to excite a civil war, and reſtore a deſpotic government; but that it was not proved that he had aſſiſted in this knowingly, and of deſign.

This priſoner had ſo little expectation of a favourable verdict, that while the jury was encloſed, he ſaid to a perſon who poured out a glaſs of wine to him—"The wine you have poured out, my dear ſir, is the laſt I ſhall ever taſte."

I am glad I have to add, that the verdict of the jury was followed by the long and repeated applauſes of the audience. This was really ſome relief to my mind; for I was afraid that nothing but condemnation was agreeable to the people; and that the opinion or prejudices of the public had too much influence on the deciſions of the courts.

M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, and formerly colonel of the regiment of Flanders, was brought before the tribunal.

He

He had already undergone an examination before the National Aſſembly, in conſequence of which he was now brought to his trial. He was accuſed of having been engaged in ſchemes which brought on the action of the 10th.

He made a very able defence, and ſhewed great preſence of mind during his trial. The jury was encloſed three hours, and then gave a verdict of the ſame nature with that given in the trial of M. D'Oſſonville—"That it was proved that there had been plots and machinations, the tendency of which was to kindle a civil war; that it was alſo proved that M. Montmorin had aſſiſted in ſome of theſe; but it was *not proved* that he had aſſiſted *wickedly*, or with an *intention to do miſchief*."

This verdict was no ſooner given, than loud murmurs of diſapprobation were heard among the audience—"You diſcharge him to-day (cried one of them), and within a fortnight

fortnight he will order our throats to be cut."—

This created ſuch confuſion, that fatal conſequences were feared. The preſident expoſtulated with the people, and pointed out the fatal tendency of their interfering in a caſe of this kind; but he was not able entirely to calm them, till he ſaid that perhaps there were among the jury ſome perſons whoſe connection with the priſoner's family had influenced their judgment, in which caſe it would be proper to have the verdict reviſed by a new jury.

The preſident thought it neceſſary to conduct M. Montmorin out of the court to priſon, to protect him from the violence of the people, who hiſſed and hooted him as he paſſed. In the outer court, one of the national guards aimed a ſtroke with his ſword at the preſident, which was parried by a byſtander; ſo that the judge received no wound.

Louis XIV. and Louis XV. never gave more alarming proofs of deſpotiſm than when they interpoſed their authority againſt the legal courſe of juſtice.

This was complained of even when their interpoſition was to protect a criminal whom the law condemned. If they had exerciſed their power in condemning whom the law acquitted, it would have been ſtill more odious. On the preſent occaſion, however, it is what the people are doing. If therefore it was a power ſuperior to law which the French chiefly complained of in their ancient monarchy, they have not found it remedied by the abolition. Yet this is at leaſt as great a grievance when exerciſed by Le Peuple Souverain, as by any other tyrant.

The vices of tyrants are ſaid to run in a circle, and produce one another. Luxury and prodigality beget rapine; rapine creates hatred in the ſubject, which raiſes fear in the

the prince. Fear produces cruelty, cruelty deſpair, and deſpair deſtruction.

In the Peuple Souverain, cruelty is not derived from the ſame remote anceſtors; but ſprings directly from power combined with credulity in the moſt abſurd accuſations, and a taſte for the ſight of executions.

All tyranny is intolerable. If the French cannot find the means of bringing that of the people within the limits of law, they will gain nothing by their revolution.

One particular circumſtance renders Le Peuple Souverain a more formidable tyrant than any other: namely—that all other tyrants are in ſome reſpect perſonally anſwerable for their actions, which is ſome reſtraint on them; whereas the Peuple Souverain indulge their caprice or fury without any reſtraint whatever.

Not ſatisfied with trying to intimidate the court, on purpoſe to force a reviſion of the verdict, and obtain one more to their mind,

an attempt was made in the next place to intimidate the National Aſſembly. The day after the trial of M. Montmorin of Fontainebleau, ſome perſons who called themſelves Deputies from the People came to the bar of the Aſſembly, to expreſs their indignation at the judgment pronounced by the jury in his favour; and required, in the name du Peuple Souverain, a ſpeedy anſwer on the ſubject.

To this very ſturdy petition the preſident anſwered—That the Aſſembly would inquire into the object of their requeſt; that undoubtedly the people of France was ſovereign; but this ſovereignty lay in the whole people, and not in any ſeparate part, and never could be exerciſed but by the repreſentatives of the whole nation.

This obſervation of the preſident is very juſt; but there is reaſon to dread that there will be ſome difficulty in making the people underſtand it, and ſtill more in making them

conform

conform to it. For Le Peuple Souverain is a monarch compoſed of heterogeneous ſubſtances, like the image of which Nebuchadnezzar dreamed; part is fine gold, part ſilver, part braſs, part iron, and a large portion clay: each of theſe diviſions occaſionally aſſumes the right of repreſenting the whole ſovereign; and the clay portion is exceedingly apt to bedaub all the others, when they offer to diſpute this right with it.

M. Montmorin, formerly the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, was yeſterday examined before the National Aſſembly. He was not accuſed of having any connection with what happened on the 10th of Auguſt; but the following articles of charge were exhibited againſt him:—That he ſacrificed the intereſt of France to that of Auſtria, in oppoſing an alliance between France and Pruſſia—That he concealed the league of foreign powers againſt France, and did not uſe all the means in his power to prevent it

—That he pretended to be ignorant of the deſigns of the emigrant princes, and aided by his ſilence their ſchemes againſt France.

M. Montmorin, when interrogated on theſe three heads, anſwered, that he knew nothing of the treaty of Pilnitz; that he was really ignorant of the deſigns of the French Princes, and therefore could not inform the National Aſſembly of either in time; and in general, that he was innocent of the whole charge. The Aſſembly, however, adopted the decree of accuſation, and M. Montmorin was ordered into cuſtody.

M. Barnave, ſo much diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence in the Conſtituent Aſſembly, was lately arreſted at his country houſe near Grenoble, and carried to the priſon of that city. What gave occaſion for this is a paper found in the King's cabinet, and endorſed in the King's hand—Projét du Comité des Miniſtres, concerté avec M. M. Barnave et Alex. Lameth.

This

This paper conſiſts of various articles, or hints of what it might be expedient to do.

1. To refuſe the ſanction.

2. To write another letter in a friendly ſtyle to the princes.

3. A new proclamation reſpecting the emigrants in a firm ſtyle, and marking a determination to maintain the conſtitution.

4. A requiſition to the neighbouring powers to ſuffer no aſſemblies of armed men on their territories.

With other hints of what the miniſters were to ſay to the National Aſſembly; particularly to inſiſt on the good effect which the King's former requiſitions had produced on the mind of the Emperor, &c.

Upon the whole, there ſeems nothing of a treaſonable nature in this paper; and if there was, there is no proof that Barnave or Alexander Lameth had any knowledge of it. But at preſent the leaſt circumſtance

creates ſuſpicion, and the leaſt ſuſpicion is ſufficient for an order of arreſt.

I feel much concern for theſe proceedings, becauſe I believe the minds of thoſe in power to be too much inflamed for candid inveſtigation of the conduct of men who acted on principles oppoſite to their own; and becauſe, although all that was charged againſt thoſe unfortunate men had been proved, ſtill they might have conceived that they were doing their duty, and acting in ſupport of the conſtitution.

The court had been long attacked in journals, in papers and placarts fixed on the walls, by men hired to harangue in public places againſt the King and his miniſters, who inſinuated, and often aſſerted, that the country was betrayed, that there was a plot to murder the patriots, and ſell a great part of the kingdom to the Emperor; and ideas of a republican nature were likewiſe ſpread about on all convenient occaſions.

It was not unnatural in the King or his miniſters to think of defending themſelves, and reſiſting this attack with the ſame kind of weapons that were uſed by their enemies. They did no doubt accordingly penſion journaliſts, and employ agents, to attend the tribunes of the National Aſſembly, to mix in groups at the public places, to fix up placarts on purpoſe to counteract the deſigns of their enemies, and turn the public opinion in their favour. For this purpoſe D'Angremont and his band may have been employed, Duroſoy may have written, and they may have believed in their conſcience that they were defending the King and ſupporting the conſtitution, againſt thoſe who wiſhed to deſtroy both. M. Laporte alſo might think he was doing no injury to the conſtitution, in advancing money which was at the King's diſpoſal in defraying this expence, according to the orders he received from his Majeſty: and there does not ſeem any thing highly

criminal

criminal in tranſmitting money by the King's orders to a few of his old body guards, who were ſtarving at Coblentz; which, however, he denied having done.

Beſides, the indignation we feel againſt thoſe whoſe conduct we really condemn, is greatly diminiſhed when we think they acted from principle; and if our hearts are not hardened by the unrelenting ſpirit of party, our indignation is converted into compaſſion when they come to ſuffer.

From the converſations I have had with the moſt intelligent and beſt informed of my French acquaintance, from the very evaſions and palliations of ſome, when the diſcourſe turned on certain ſubjects, and the frankneſs of others, I think it highly probable that a project was formed by many of the King's friends, who were alſo the friends of the conſtitution, to remove the whole royal family to the diſtance of twenty leagues from Paris. The diſturbances which were threat-

ened

ened every time the King made uſe of the veto which the conſtitution had given him, the outrages committed by the mob in his palace on the 20th of June, for which nobody had been puniſhed, convinced them that this meaſure was neceſſary for the King's ſafety, and for his having the free uſe of his prerogative. It was propoſed that, every thing being previouſly arranged, he ſhould inform the National Aſſembly of his intention to withdraw for ſome time to that diſtance from the capital which the conſtitution permits, and to ſet out directly after, attended by a body of cavalry, and followed by the Swiſs and ſome battalions of the national guards. It is likely that a detachment from the army on the frontiers would have joined theſe, if neceſſary; and all with no other view than to give energy to the conſtitution, and prevent the powers of government from being arreſted, as often as any meaſure

was taken that diſpleaſed the Jacobins or the mob of Paris.

M. de la Fayette was in all probability engaged in this project; but I am inclined to think that

> The very head and front of his offending
> Hath this extent, and no more.

His Majeſty ſometimes agreed to this plan; but when it came to the point of execution, he always drew back: for although Louis XVI. poſſeſſes a great ſhare of paſſive courage, he ſhrinks from exertion; eſpecially when the meaſure which he is ſtimulated to take has the leaſt chance of being attended with bloodſhed. By all I have heard of the character of this prince, whom they endeavour to repreſent as a wicked tyrant, he in truth

> ——————lacks iniquity
> Sometimes to do him ſervice.

And I have ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the

the moderation with which he bore certain outrages provoked the republican party, becauſe it deprived them of the pretexts which they wiſhed to exhibit to the people, as reaſons for the deſtruction of royalty; but I alſo believe, that this in a great degree proceeds from a conviction in their minds, that the ſplendor of royalty, even with the limitations of their conſtitution, cannot long exiſt in France conſiſtent with freedom. When they are reminded of the example of the Britiſh government, they anſwer that the characters of the two nations are different; but they ſeem to forget that thoſe very circumſtances in the character of the French, which render a limited monarchy dangerous to freedom, may alſo render a republican form of government inconſiſtent with any tolerable ſhare of tranquillity or public happineſs.

The three perſons executed as above-mentioned, I dare ſay thought they had

acted meritoriouſly; and it depended on the event of the inſurrection on the 10th of Auguſt, whether that was or was not to be the avowed opinion of the public. Had that event been the reverſe of what it was, thoſe men would have been praiſed and rewarded for the ſame conduct for which they were now condemned, and ſome of their judges would have been executed in their ſtead. They will be dealt with in the other world, no doubt, according to their *own perſonal conduct* through life; but here the fate of thoſe men, and whether they were to be conſidered as innocent or guilty, depended not on their own conduct, but on *that* of the Swiſs, the national guards, the fœderés, and thoſe who directed them.

If it were clearly proved that the King had entered into a plan for overturning the conſtitution, which he had accepted and ſworn to ſupport, that he kept up a correſpondence with the enemies of his country,

and

and abetted their invaſion for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing the old government, and at the riſk of the diſmemberment of France; if theſe things were proved, no man who has read the chapter of the *Conſtitution Françaiſe*, which concerns the King, can have the leaſt doubt of his having incurred the penalty of forfeiture of the crown; and beyond that penalty juſtice cannot go with reſpect to him, were all theſe charges ever ſo clearly proved.

In that caſe, however, thoſe who were acquainted with his deſigns, and aſſiſted him in promoting them, would be juſtly condemned to death as traitors.

But if none of thoſe charges are clearly proved; if nothing is diſcovered incompatible with the idea that the King was conſcientiouſly reſolved to adhere to the conſtitution, and had formed no plan to reſtore the old government; that the meaſures he took, and the arrangements he made within

the

the Tuileries, on, and for ſome time before the 10th of Auguſt, were merely defenſive; and that the attack had been long meditated by thoſe who wiſhed to deſtroy the conſtitution, and eſtabliſh a republican form of government; that the very men who now exclaim againſt the King for ſhedding the blood of the people wantonly, are thoſe who provoked the war with the Emperor, and incited the attack of the Tuileries on purpoſe to enſnare the King, and afford them opportunities of accuſing him of a correſpondence with the court of Vienna, and of acting offenſively againſt his own ſubjects; that they might have pretexts for injuring him in the minds of the people, and eſtabliſhing that republican form of government which they ſo much deſire: if thoſe ſuppoſitions are founded on truth, the King, and thoſe who ſuffer on this occaſion, muſt engage our ſympathy in the higheſt degree.

The

The greateſt pains are taken at the club of Jacobins, in the public walks, at the meetings of the ſections, in the coffee-houſes, and wherever people meet and converſe, to perſuade the public that the King had no right to give orders to fire on the people aſſembled in the Carouſel; that he certainly left ſuch orders with the Swiſs and others, when he left the Chateau to go to the Aſſembly; and for him to repel the people by force, or order them to be ſo repelled, when they came to preſent a petition, or remonſtrance, is the greateſt of all crimes, leze nation.—This doctrine is as new as abſurd; that it was not received on the 10th, even by the moſt violent members of the National Aſſembly is evident, for M. Rhœderer, the procureur ſyndic of the department, in the account which he gave at the bar of the Aſſembly, in the preſence of the King, a little before the firing began, ſaid, that he addreſſed the cannoniers, and the

national guards within the caſtle, in theſe words: " Meſſieurs, à Dieu ne plaiſe que nous demandions que vous verſiez le ſang de vos freres, que vous attaquiez vos concitoyens! Vos cannons, meſſieurs, ſont là pour votre défenſe; ils ne ſont pas pour l'attaque: mais je requiers au nom de la loi, cette défenſe; je la requiers au nom du droit de votre conſtitution; je requiers au nom de la ſureté que la loi garantie à la maiſon devant laquelle vous etes poſtés. La loi vous autoriſe, lorſque des violences ſeront exercées contre vous, à les repouſſer par une forte réaction. La loi vous autoriſe, lorſque vous ſerez à point d'être forcés dans votre poſte, à le maintenir par la force; et encore un fois vous ne ſerez point aſſaillans, vous ne ſerez que ſur la défenſive *."

This

Gentlemen, Heaven forbid that we ſhould require you to ſhed the blood of your brethren; that you ſhould attack your fellow-citizens! Thoſe cannon are there for your defence, and not for attacking others: but in the name of law I require *that* defence; I require it in the

This language, which is that of nature and common ſenſe, was not blamed at the time it was held, and if Rhœderer had had the leaſt idea that it would, he is not the man that would have held it; but it has been conſidered in a different light ſince, and M. Rhœderer has thought proper to abſcond.

But had the King given direct orders to fire on thoſe who threatened to force their way into his palace, he was not only juſtifiable on the principle of ſelf-defence, but it was his duty to do ſo as ſoon as he was convinced they could be kept out by

the name of juſtice and of the conſtitution; I require it in the name of that ſafety which the law guarantees to the houſe before which you are poſted. The law authoriſes you, as often as violence is uſed againſt you, to repel it with all your force. The law authoriſes you, when you are in danger of being driven from your poſt, to maintain it by force; and ſtill you will not be aggreſſors, you will be only acting on the defenſive.

no other means, for he had ſworn to defend the conſtitution; he himſelf was an eſſential part of the conſtitution, and therefore, independent of every conſideration of ſelf-defence as an individual, he was bound as King to act againſt the inſurgents on the 10th of Auguſt.

September 2.

An incident of a ſingular nature took place yeſterday.

Jean Julian, a poor waggoner of Vaugirard, was condemned to ten years hard labour, for I know not what crime. This man was placed on a ſcaffold in the Place de Gréve, with his hands tied behind, there to remain an hour, as a beginning of his puniſhment. Whether he was previouſly mad, or made deſperate by ſo ſevere a ſentence, I am not informed; but while he was in this ſituation, the populace crying *Vive la Nation!* the man exclaimed, Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! adding ſome indecent

indecent expreſſions regarding *la Nation*, prompted, in all probability, by rage and deſpair.

One could hardly imagine that a poor helpleſs wretch, in this deplorable ſtate, could have provoked the reſentment of any individual; and if it did, the puniſhment to which he was condemned might have been thought ſufficient. It did not however ſatisfy le Peuple Souverain: the man was on the point of being torn to pieces; but *Manuel* prevented this, and promiſed that the offended majeſty of the people ſhould be avenged.

The offender was carried from the ſcaffold to priſon, and ſoon after accuſed, before the tribunal which had tried the others, of this new crime. The ſentence no doubt is in due form of law; it declares however what nobody of common ſenſe can believe;

" Qu'il à exiſtè une émeute populaire, ou ſédition, le premièr Septembre préſent

mois, tendante à exciter une guerre civile, par des cris de Vive le Roi, Vive la Reine, Vive M. de la Fayette! laquelle émeute ou ſédition eſt une conſéquence naturelle de la conſpiration qui à éclaté le 10 Aout dernier; que Jean Julien eſt convaincu des faits ci-deſſus, &c*."

He was then carried from the priſon to the Carouſel, and there beheaded.

It is not poſſible that the court could have believed that this waggoner intended to excite any ſedition; what he ſaid, was a mere raſh retort on the mob, who inſulted him in his miſery. If *their* cry had been Vive le Roi et la Reine! *his* would have

* That a popular commotion or ſedition exiſted on the firſt of September, tending to raiſe a civil war, by the cries of Long live the King, the Queen, M. la Fayette! which commotion or ſedition is a natural conſequence of the conſpiracy which appeared on the 10th of Auguſt. That John Julien is guilty of the above, &c.

been

been Vive la Nation! It is plain therefore that he was condemned to die to pleaſe the people. It is hard to ſay who excite greater horror, thoſe who order a man's head to be cut off, to pleaſe the people; or the people who are pleaſed by ſuch a ſpectacle.

Thoſe who attend public executions, in conſequence of a taſte for ſuch horrid ſights, were a few days ago gratified with an after-piece, which was not announced.

On the 27th of Auguſt, three men were beheaded for forging aſſignats. After the execution, it is cuſtomary to hold up the head, that it may be ſeen by the ſpectators. In performing this ceremony, the ſon of the executioner approached too near the edge of the ſcaffold; fell over, and was killed on the ſpot before his father's eyes.

I was this morning paſſing the church of Saint Louis du Louvre, and being told that it was now frequented by a Proteſtant congregation, I immediately joined them.

To behold an aſſembly of Proteſtants worſhipping God according to the forms of their own religion, in a Roman catholic church, built on the ſpot where the maſſacre of St. Barthelemy began, and near that whence Charles IX. fired, with his own hands, on his Proteſtant ſubjects, was not the leaſt extraordinary thing I have had occaſion to obſerve ſince I have been in France.

The original name of this church was St. Thomas du Louvre, and a painting of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, archbiſhop of Canterbury, is ſtill one of its ornaments. The roof falling into decay, was renewed in the year 1740, when the church obtained the new name of St. Louis, I know not for what reaſon, unleſs it was that the former was thought ominous; for beſide the murder of the ſaint, whoſe name it originally bore, three of the prebendaries were

were cruſhed to death by the fall of the old roof in the year 1739.

The principal ornament of this church is the mauſoleum of Cardinal Fleury, who is repreſented expiring in the arms of Religion. Louis XV. ordered this magnificent tomb to be erected in honour of his old preceptor and prime miniſter; but the monarch's affection abated as the expence increaſed, and became ſo cool before the work was finiſhed, that it is thought the tomb would never have been completed, had not the Duc de Fleury, and other relations of the family, joined in defraying the expence, and animating the artiſts. Thus what was begun by gratitude, was finiſhed by vanity. I ſhould be ſorry to ſay that in general the latter is the moſt powerful motive for expences of this nature; but let thoſe who wiſh to know, enquire of *ſculptors* and of *painters*, to which they are moſt obliged.

When

When I entered this church, I found it crowded with an audience of a very reſpectable and devout deportment.

The demeanor of the clergyman was of a piece with that of the audience. I enquired his name, and am ſorry I have forgot it. His ſermon was excellent, and gracefully delivered; he uſed more action than is common with Engliſh divines; but ſeemed free from affectation. He dwelt on the benevolent ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and inculcated its precepts with a fervour that, I thought, proceeded from the heart. A patriotic form of prayer has been uſed in all the churches ſince the revolution; it refers to that event, and is affecting and well compoſed: this was the only thing the miniſter read. The King and Royal Family were included in it before the 10th of Auguſt: the only thing which diſpleaſed me during the ſervice was, that, by order of the exiſting powers, they are now left out.

The

The very circumſtance of their being omitted, however, would bring them into the minds of the audience; and thoſe who felt the true import of the ſermon they had juſt heard, I am convinced, did not omit mental petitions in favour of that moſt unfortunate family.

On a part of the wall of this church, where a ſaint formerly ſtood, is the following inſcription:

Le devoir d'un citoyen:
Adorez — Dieu.
Reſpectez — la Nation.
Obeir — à la Loi.
Paix avec ſurveillance.
Liberté ſans licence.
Egalité ſans indécence.
C'eſt la véritable ſcience.

The poetry of theſe lines is certainly not very admirable: it were much to be wiſhed however, for the happineſs of France, that ſhe could obtain what is expreſſed in the ſecond;

ſecond; as for *ſcience*, ſhe had no natural buſineſs among them, and muſt have been dragged in by her unruly relation *indecence*.

When I went into the ſtreet, people were hurrying up and down with rapid ſteps and anxious faces; groups were formed at every corner: one told in general that a courier had arrived with very bad news; another aſſerted that Verdun had been betrayed like Longwy, and that the enemy were advancing; others ſhook their heads and ſaid, it was the traitors within Paris, and not the declared enemies on the frontiers that were to be feared.

In the National Aſſembly M. Vergniaud, with his uſual eloquence, endeavoured to check that alarm which had affected the citizens; his diſcourſe was evidently addreſſed to the audience in the galleries. He ſaid, "the plan of the enemy was to leave the fortified towns behind them, and march with all poſſible ſpeed to Paris; that this would

would be their ruin; the French army would follow; a body of 60,000 men from the capital would meet them; and that they muſt be ſurrounded, ſtarved, and cut to pieces: but that to prevent any poſſibility of misfortune to Paris itſelf, the intrenchments around it muſt be completed; the zeal of the citizens muſt be ſtimulated: and he propoſed that twelve members of the National Aſſembly ſhould be ſent daily to encourage the labourers, not by vain diſcourſes, but by their example; that thoſe members ſhould themſelves take up the ſhovel and pick-axe, and work in the intrenchments. This was immediately decreed, and at the ſame time, that an army of 60,000 men ſhould be formed as ſoon as poſſible, and march to Chalons, while the inhabitants, who remained in the capital, ſhould labour in the intrenchments.

The alarm is increaſed by the circumſtantial account which is publiſhed, and

carefully circulated, of the plan agreed upon by the Emperor and King of Pruſſia, reſpecting the conduct of their troops during their march through France, and on their arrival at Paris.

According to thoſe accounts, a great number of perſons of influence have given aſſurance of their being ready to join the invading army; but they are deſired to remain in their particular provinces, where they will be of moſt ſervice to the cauſe, and only join the army when they can do it with ſafety, and bring the friends they are now ſeducing with them; that detachments will be ſent from the advancing army to facilitate thoſe junctions; but that when the combined German troops ſhould approach near to Paris, the French, under the Prince de Condé, were to be left behind to protect the convoys, and keep the provinces in obedience: while the Germans blockaded

Paris,

Paris, which would ſoon be obliged, by famine, to ſurrender.

Immediately after which, the whole of the inhabitants were to be conducted to the plains of St. Denis, where the men were to be decimated and executed, with impartiality, on the ſpot; the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots having been previouſly ſelected, who were to be broken on the wheel: but that the women and children were to be ſpared, except forty or fifty poiſſards, who would undergo the ſame death with the patriots, as a warning to the fair ſex not to take any part in future revolutions.

Theſe pretended accounts from Germany are evidently, I know not for what purpoſe, fabricated in Paris—they fill many people however with diſquietude, and increaſe the general alarm.

One o'clock, mid-day.

While I was writing, the cannon were fired, and the tocſin ſounded. People ruſhed in to

inform us, "That the Pruſſian army had taken Chalons, and was in full march to Paris; that their huſſars and light cavalry ſwept every thing before them, and were already within ten leagues of the gates of Paris." When we ſtated the improbability of this, the anſwer was, "That if there had been the leaſt doubt, the municipality would not have ordered the cannon of alarm to be fired, nor the tocſin to be founded."

"What is become of Luckner's army? they would not allow huſſars to paſs them. The news cannot be true!"

"Why then would the cannon be fired, and the tocſin founded?"

This mode of arguing I heard on all ſides; and as nobody could give a good reaſon for the cannon being fired, and the tocſin founded, it was concluded that the Pruſſians were within ten leagues, and every freſh report of a cannon, or toll of the tocſin, ſerved to confirm them in that belief.

Five

Five in the afternoon.

The moſt ſhocking crimes are at this moment perpetrating at the priſon of the Abbaye, hard by the hotel in which I now write!—a thing unequalled in the records of wickedneſs!

The mob—they call them the people here; but they deſerve no name by which any thing which has the leaſt relation to human nature can be ſignified—a ſet of monſters have broken into the Abbaye, and are maſſacring the priſoners!

Nine at night.

They have been at this ſhocking work during ſeveral hours—the Abbaye is quite full of priſoners; beſides thoſe that were there before, great numbers have been ſent ſince the 10th of Auguſt; many on ſlight ſuſpicions; many poor prieſts on no particular accuſation, but merely becauſe they are prieſts; many citizens, as I have been

aſſured, have been arreſted of late, and ſent there, from the private hatred and revenge of ſome of the individuals, who at preſent belong to the commune de Paris. But ſuppoſe there was the greateſt reaſon to believe them all guilty, which it is impoſſible that any body can, that would form no apology for this violation of juſtice, humanity, and public faith! A priſon ought to be the moſt ſacred of all aſylums: there is more reaſon to conſider the violation of it as impiety, and the height of wickedneſs, than that of the church or altar; becauſe in priſon all who are accuſed of crimes, are detained till their guilt or innocence can be tried; they are, during this interval, under the ſafeguard of government, and the faith of the ſtate. On the preſent occaſion there is more reaſon than uſual to ſuppoſe many innocent perſons are among the priſoners, becauſe they have been arreſted in hurry and confuſion, on ſlight ſurmiſes, and often, it is probable,

from private hatred. Yet, ſhocking to think of! they are making an undiſtinguiſhed maſſacre of all.

Is this the work of a furious and deluded mob?

How come the citizens of this populous metropolis to remain paſſive ſpectators of ſo dreadful an outrage?

Is it poſſible that this is the accompliſhment of a plan concerted two or three weeks ago? that thoſe arbitrary arreſts were ordered with this view; that falſe rumours of treaſons and intended inſurrections and maſſacres were ſpread to exaſperate the people; and that, taking advantage of the rumours of bad news from the frontiers, orders have been iſſued for firing the cannon and ſounding the tocſin, to increaſe the alarm, and terrify the public into acquieſcence; while a band of choſen ruffians were hired to maſſacre thoſe whom hatred, revenge, or fear

had deſtined to deſtruction, but whom law and juſtice could not deſtroy?

It is now paſt twelve at mid-night, and the bloody work ſtill goes on! Almighty God!

September 3.

The ſame horrid ſcenes which began yeſterday afternoon, are ſtill continuing at the Abbaye; are extended to the Hotel de la Force, la Conciergerie, le Chatelet, to all the priſons in Paris, and even the Bicetre, which is a league out of town.

One continued carnage goes on at them all. The people are told the following tale:

"That there was a horrid plot, a combination between the Duke of Brunſwick and certain traitors in Paris, that as ſoon as all the new levies were completed, and all the men intended for the frontiers had marched out of Paris, then thoſe ſame traitors,

traitors, who have been long concealed under the maſk of patriotiſm, were to take the command of a large body of men, now diſperſed over the capital and its environs, who have been long in the pay of the court, although they alſo are concealed; that thoſe *concealed* leaders, at the head of their *concealed* troops, were to have thrown open the priſons, and to arm the priſoners; then to go to the Temple, ſet the Royal Family free, and proclaim the King; to condemn to death all the patriots who remain in Paris, and moſt of the wives and children of thoſe who have marched out of it againſt the enemies of their country."

This is the ridiculous tale which is circulated among the people, to juſtify the murders perpetrating in the priſons, to ſtimulate the populace to aſſiſt in them, or terrify them from oppoſition.

The ſtrong impreſſion made by the Duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto, with the other

cauſes of alarm, make the tale credited, and the maſſacre tolerated.

I was this very day told, that " it is natural for men to ſecure their wives and children when they are going to be ſeparated from them, and to uſe the moſt effectual means of preventing their being expoſed to the daggers of aſſaſſins."

An acquaintance informed me, that as he paſſed by the Abbaye, he had ſeen ſome priſoners killed, by being firſt knocked on the head, and then thruſt through with pikes; and afterwards, that he ſaw ſeveral bodies dragged out and laid on a waggon. We were near the Abbaye when he gave me this account; and he added, that if I had any inclination, I might go with ſafety. I entered with him into the ſtreet, and ſaw about two hundred people ſtanding as ſpectators before the gate of the Abbaye; but as I drew nearer, I became ſo much affected with the idea of what was tranſacting, that I

turned

turned out of the ſtreet, with many others who ſeemed equally filled with horror.

But why then is it not reſiſted? Where is the Miniſter of Juſtice? Why is not the commander of the national guards ordered to march with an armed force to the priſons? Why are thoſe murderers allowed to continue with as little interruption from the ſpectators, as the legal executioner who performs his office on a criminal condemned in the moſt regular manner?

A prodigious ſlaughter has alſo been made of the priſoners confined in the Hotel de la Force: one who gave me a ſhocking detail of this in the ſtreet, added, that the people, however, had mixed juſtice with their vengeance, for all the priſoners for debt and ſlight crimes, had either been previouſly ſeparated from the reſt, or ſpared by the people; and none but well-known criminals and traitors had ſuffered. The valet de place, who was with me, and liſ-

tened to our converſation, here put in his word—" Je vous l'ai bien dit, Monſieur, le peuple eſt juſte *. At that inſtant I ſaw a crowd at a diſtance; I was told that they were carrying the head of the Princeſs Lamballe on a pike, and were dragging her body through the ſtreets!

I turned from this very ſhocking ſight, and went directly to call on M. Français, one of the deputies of the National Aſſembly, with whom I am acquainted. I found him greatly concerned on account of the inhuman and diſgraceful ſcenes that were acting. I told him we had already obtained paſſports from the ſection des quatres nations; but I underſtood that ſtill we were in danger of being ſtopt at the barrier. I informed him alſo, that I had written to M. le Brun, the miniſter, on the ſubject, but wiſhed M. Français to ſpeak to him for an

* I told you, Sir, that the people are always juſt.

order,

order, which might preclude any obſtacle we might otherwiſe meet with at the barrier or the towns through which we were to paſs. M. Français promiſed to ſpeak to the miniſter accordingly.

In the evening I converſed with ſeveral who were at the Hotel de la Force when Madame de Lamballe was murdered. This unfortunate lady was in bed when ſhe was ſummoned to appear before a kind of tribunal within the court of the priſon, which they ſay was conſtituted by the people to try the priſoners.

The perſon who carried her the meſſage, however, told her that it was intended to remove her to the Abbaye. She ſaid, ſince ſhe muſt be kept in priſon, ſhe was as well pleaſed with that ſhe was in, as another; and being a little indiſpoſed, wiſhed to remain in bed.

She was then told that ſhe muſt get up directly, to appear before the tribunal. She

begged

begged of thoſe who brought this ſecond meſſage, who were two men in the uniform of the national guards, to retire till ſhe was dreſſed, and ſhe would attend them. They did ſo—and within a few minutes ſhe was by them conducted before thoſe pretended judges; it is ſaid they wiſhed to draw from her ſome matter of accuſation againſt the Queen. In this they were diſappointed; but as there was no poſitive charge againſt herſelf, ſhe was ordered to be removed, as is aſſerted by ſome, without any intention, on the part of theſe judges, that ſhe ſhould be murdered: what is certain, is, that if they did not actually give the ſignal of death, they took no meaſure to ſave her; for, as ſhe was conducted out of the priſon, ſtaggering with horror at the ſight of the victims which had been ſacrificed, ſhe was ſtruck on the head by the bludgeon of one aſſaſſin, and her head ſeparated from her body by the ſabre of another. The body then was dragged,

ged, by ſome of the wretches who flocked around, into an adjoining court, where after a ſeries of indignities, of a nature not to be related, it was trailed by the mob through the ſtreets. The head, being fixed on a pike, was carried to the Temple, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſhocking the Royal Family, and the Queen in particular, with a ſight ſo dreadfully agonizing—A new dictionary is needed to furniſh words expreſſive of ſuch unheard-of wickedneſs!

But this laſt was a refinement which cannot belong to the impetuous barbarity of a mob; it muſt have been ſuggeſted by thoſe who have ſtudied cruelty as a ſcience, and are acquainted with the moſt acute ſources of anguiſh.

Thoſe who had the guard of the Royal Family, were at firſt afraid of violence being intended againſt them. The commiſſaries from the municipality met the multitude, harangued and tried every means to prevent

their

their entering the court of the Temple—pointing to the national ribbon of three colours, which was drawn acroſs the gate; they ſaid it was hoped that patriots, ſuch as they, would reſpect that patriotic barrier.

They read to them the following inſcription, which it bore:

Citoyens, vous qui à une juſte vengeance ſavez allier l'amour de l'orde, reſpectez cette barriere. Elle eſt néceſſaire à notre ſurveillance et à notre reſponſabilité*.

The directions under which thoſe wretches acted, did not extend to the murder of the Royal Family, otherwiſe it is not probable they would have been reſtrained either by the patriotic ribbon, or their love of order.

One of them ſaid, that no violence was intended againſt the priſoners in the Temple,

* Citizens, you who to a juſt vengeance join a love of order, reſpect this barrier. It is neceſſary for our juſtification.

but

but inſiſted that a few ſhould be admitted into the court, to make a proceſſion with the head before their windows, that thoſe who had conſpired to betray the country, might behold the fatal termination of their plots.

The officers yielded to this inhuman propoſal—two of them even went and adverti[illegible]ed the Royal Family. The head was carried around the court, and immediately before the Queen's window.

I underſtand ſhe inſtantly fainted, and that the Princeſs Elizabeth is alſo extremely ill.

The friendſhip which ſubſiſted between her Majeſty and the Princeſs de Lamballe was well known: this very friendſhip had prompted that unfortunate lady, after ſhe herſelf was in ſafety, to return to France, and to the Queen, whoſe diſagreeable ſituation required the conſolation of a friend's company. This generous friendſhip ſeems

to have been the ſole cauſe of Madame de Lamballe's murder; for Madame de Tourzelle, her daughter, and other ladies who were in the Hotel de la Force, were ſpared. The degree of rancour which thoſe wretches diſplay againſt the Queen, is as violent as it is unaccountable. After murdering her friend, merely becauſe ſhe was her friend, they are not ſatisfied with letting her know that the afflicting event had taken place, but muſt alſo wring her heart with the moſt cruel of all ſpectacles!

From the Temple, Madame de Lamballe's head was carried to the Palais Royal, ſo as to be recognized by thoſe within. I have ſince converſed with ſome perſons who were there at the time.

Although the Princeſs Lamballe was a near connexion of the proprietor of this palace, I do not underſtand that the ſhock which the ſight occaſioned endangers his health.

The

The news of thoſe maſſacres having been carried to the Bicetre, where there are a great number of wretched people confined, they prepared to make reſiſtance; and I underſtand that ſeveral pieces of cannon are to be carried there to make ſure of ſlaughtering them with ſafety to the aſſaſſins. The accounts are ſo various and contradictory, that nothing with regard to the number killed, and many other particulars, can be depended upon. I ſhall endeavour to be informed hereafter in many circumſtances, of which I have but vague and uncertain notions at preſent.

Scenes have been acted ſince the beginning of the French revolution, particularly on the 10th of Auguſt, and thoſe ſtill more horrid now performing, which are of a nature to make the warmeſt lover of liberty reflect very long, and weigh every circumſtance, before he engages in a ſcheme of overſetting or altering the eſtabliſhed government

of

of any country where law and order have a conſiderable, though an imperfect, influence.

This reflection does not apply to thoſe happy political conſtitutions which include within them the ſafe, regular, and legal means of redreſſing ſuch abuſes and inconveniences as an alteration of circumſtances muſt produce in the very beſt ſyſtem of government. The great advantage of a conſtitution, thus admirably contrived, is, that it poſſeſſes ſuch ſalutary means of redreſs. Thoſe remedies, however, are not to be applied wantonly, or when there is no occaſion for any remedy—but if we are told they are never to be applied at all, then I confeſs I can ſee nothing very admirable in having ſuch reſources as part of the conſtitution—the machine of government would have been more ſimple by leaving them out.

When the means propoſed is *inſurrection*, the caſe is different and independent of perſonal conſiderations; every benevolent man will

will deliberate with much attention before he adopts meaſures which involves the happineſs and miſery of thouſands of his countrymen.

In ſuch an abominable ſyſtem of oppreſſion as the French laboured under before the revolution, where one large caſt of men were exempted from taxation, and, without being themſelves free, practiſed various methods of oppreſſing their more enſlaved fellow-ſubjects—where another claſs poſſeſſed a prodigious proportion of the whole lands of the country, ſo unfairly divided that, in general, thoſe who ſeldom performed any function of their profeſſion, were rewarded with an exorbitant ſhare, while thoſe who diligently executed all its duties were in a ſtate of abject poverty—where the will of one man could control the courſe of law, and his mandate tear any citizen from the arms of his family, and throw him into a dungeon for years, or for life.

In a country where ſuch a ſyſtem of government prevails, inſurrection, being the ſole means of redreſs, is not only juſtifiable, but it is the duty of every lover of mankind and of his country, as ſoon as any occaſion preſents itſelf which promiſes ſucceſs.

The neceſſity of a total change of government in France will be acknowledged, and the revolution that was begun in the year 1789, will be approved of by many who will condemn the tranſactions of the 20th of June, and the 10th of Auguſt laſt, as unjuſt and inexpedient.

To pour a mob into the King's palace, on purpoſe to terrify him from exerciſing a negative which the conſtitution had given him, and left entirely to his own diſcretion, was aſſuredly moſt unjuſtifiable; and to ſlaughter his guards, ſuſpend his authority, and impriſon him and his whole family, becauſe the guards oppoſed a ſecond irruption of the mob into the palace, I fancy will hardly

be approved by any impartial man, or juſtified by all the treachery which the papers found in his cabinet on the 10th of Auguſt will diſcloſe.

Louis XVI. was never conſidered as an unprincipled man, or a man of inordinate ambition. I cannot help thinking that he was ſatisfied with the conſtitution, and, as he is a man of piety, would never have thought of breaking his oaths by undermining it.

But thoſe men, whoever they are, who inſtigated the maſſacres, have fixed indelible ſtains on their country, and in all probability have involved it in laſting diſorder and miſery.

The means they have employed to ſtrike terror, to attain power, and by which they expect to keep it, is the populace; but this is an engine which often turns againſt thoſe who undertake to direct it, and which neither they nor any others can always con-

troul. As well may they ſay to the ocean in a ſtorm, Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther.—And ſhould theſe bloody inſtigators go no farther, gracious Heaven! what dreadful lengths have they not already gone? what advantage in point of government can France expect, what revolution is not dearly bought at the expence of the national ſtain, of the unprecedented horrors of laſt night, and this infamous third of September?

Chantilly, Sept. 4.

We were informed this morning, that the barriers were ſtill ſhut, and nobody allowed to leave Paris: however, having received a letter from M. Le Brun, beſides the paſſports from our ſection, we reſolved to attempt it. Two perſons belonging to our ſection, one of them in the national uniform, accompanied us. We were allowed to paſs without difficulty, though our

paſſports

paſſports were examined at different places before we arrived here.

Our intention was to have proceeded this day to Clermont; but being informed that a large body of Bretons, who are marching to join the armies on the frontiers, are to paſs this night at Clermont, [illegible] it expedient to remain where we are.

A party of national guards, detached by orders of the commune de Paris, have been here; they only left Chantilly this morning: they carried with them, in waggons, a vaſt quantity of ſtuff proper for ſoldiers tents which was at this place. A party which was here ſome time ago, but ſince the 10th of Auguſt, carried away all the horſes of every kind which remained in the ſtables, alſo a ſtatue of Louis XIV. which was within the caſtle. They alſo overſet and broke in pieces the fine figures which ornamented the front of the magnificent ſtables:

they treated in the ſame manner the equeſtrian ſtatue of Henry Montmorency, Conſtable of France in the time of Henry IV. The materials of thoſe, being metal, were carried by the ſame party in waggons to Paris. They had the brutality, before they ſet out, to knock off the head of the beautiful pedeſtrian ſtatue of the Condé, which ſtood in the grand ſtair-caſe of the caſtle. It is probable that thoſe patriots were not enough verſed in the hiſtory of their country to know that he had at one period of his life carried arms againſt his King, otherwiſe their hatred of the original, as a Bourbon, being qualified by their veneration for him as a rebel, might have ſaved the head of the ſtatue.—Had their hiſtorical knowledge extended a little farther back, they might have had more ſympathy for the old conſtable alſo; for it is certain that he was ſo very illiterate that he could not read—Brantome ſays, that he always ſigned

with

with a mark; and Henry IV. uſed to ſay, "Avec mon Connétable qui ne ſait pas lire, et mon Chancelier qui ne ſait pas le latin, il n'eſt rien que je n'entréprenne avec ſuccés. *"

It is impoſſible to paſs the mutilated ſtatue of Condé without a ſentiment of indignation againſt men who could manifeſt their rage in this deſpicable manner againſt one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters their country ever produced.

The ſuperior genius of Condé appeared in irregular flaſhes in his early youth, ſhone in full luſtre in the fields of war during his maturer years, and threw a long beam of milder light on his old age. When retired from the buſtle of the world, he cultivated the converſation of men of letters, and, by

* With my Conſtable who cannot read, and my Chancellor who does not underſtand Latin, there is nothing which I do not undertake with ſucceſs.

his own taſte, aſſiſted by that of the firſt artiſts, he rendered Chantilly at once the moſt magnificent and moſt delightful place in France.

The following verſes were inſcribed beneath the ſtatue of Condé:

Quem modò pallebant, fugitivis fluctibus amnes,
Terribilem bello, nunc docta otia princeps
Pacis amans, lætos dat hortis ludere fontes.

I ſaid to the man who ſhewed us the apartments of the caſtle, that I had never ſeen Chantilly dans un ſi triſte état*. Auſſi, Monſieur, anſwered he with a ſigh, n'a-t-il jamais été ſi triſte†.

Although an Engliſhman has lately eſtabliſhed an inn near this, we have ſtopped and ſhall ſleep at the French one, cloſe by the caſtle: the people here being moſtly old ſervants of the Prince, melancholy is evidently marked on all their faces—on hinting at the ſad ſcenes which have taken

* In ſo ſad a ſtate.

† Neither was it ever ſo ſad.

place

place at Paris, they throw up their eyes, ſhake their heads, and hold their tongues.

Whether thoſe dreadful ſcenes are to be imputed to the blind fury of a multitude driven to madneſs by an accumulation of alarming circumſtances, or to a few mercenary actors hired to ſerve the vengeful or ambitious views of ſome inviſible agents, I cannot yet determine: it is certainly difficult to imagine how ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand people ſhould permit two or three hundred aſſaſſins to commit ſuch acts of atrocity before their eyes, unleſs they approved of what they ſaw—Why did not the National Aſſembly, inſtead of ſending deputations of ſix or eight of their number, go in a body to protect the priſoners?—they never can do a more important duty, nor one in which the honour of their country is more concerned. Thoſe who reſpected the national ribbon, would aſſuredly have reſpected the National Aſſembly; or if the aſſaſſins had

had been otherwiſe diſpoſed, ſince they were but two or three hundred, the Aſſembly would have overpowered them.

This proves that the Aſſembly thought that it was not a handful of ruffians, but a large body of the people who were engaged in this horrid work:—but even in that caſe, it may be aſked, why did they not ſend for *Santerre*, the commander of the national guards, and order him to march with all the men under his command to the protection of the priſons?

I was told this morning before we left Paris, that M. Roland, the miniſter, ſent repeated meſſages to Santerre without effect: how he will account for this I know not. As for a great number of the members of the Aſſembly, they were certainly under the influence of terror: Briſſot, one of their own body, had been accuſed, and his papers examined; many might be conſcious that, in the ſame circumſtances, they would

not

not have been able to clear themſelves ſo completely as he did, for Briſſot has long been thought a republican, and I fancy on good grounds—his writings breathed that ſpirit long before the 10th of Auguſt.—Briſſot's accuſer was no leſs a man than Roberſpierre; and the crime of which he was accuſed was that of being bought by the Duke of Brunſwick. The accuſation was ſupported by mere aſſertion and declamation, which I am told are the uſual proofs in which Roberſpierre deals; but he expected that Briſſot would have been aſſaſſinated—in which caſe proofs were ſuperfluous. Since a republican like Briſſot was expoſed to ſuch danger, it was natural for others, particularly all who voted on the 7th of Auguſt in favour of La Fayette, to be under upprehenſions, which probably prevented their exerting themſelves with all the vigour they wiſhed in defence of the priſoners.

priſoners. With regard to the citizens of Paris, I certainly obſerved nothing like a diſpoſition in them to deſtroy the priſoners; on the contrary, wherever I went, I found people lamenting their fate—but at the ſame time alarmed with the accounts from the frontiers, with the firing of the cannon and ſounding the tocſin, and, above all, terrified at ſtories of conſpiracies, and at the ſight of the band of aſſaſſins, who, followed by ſome of the loweſt rabble, went from priſon to priſon.

There is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe, that the National Aſſembly have not deliberated in perfect ſecurity and freedom ſince the 10th of Auguſt, and that the unanimity which has appeared on ſome important occaſions ſince is produced by fear more than conviction.

I myſelf am a witneſs, that the ſame men who were diametrically oppoſite in ſentiments on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of Auguſt, ſeemed

ſeemed of the ſame way of thinking for ſome time after the 10th.

Although the Court certainly had a majority of the Aſſembly with them on my firſt arrival, yet even then the majority was expoſed to the rudeſt inſults from the people for declaring their ſentiments. On the 8th, when M. Vaublanc, after a very excellent ſpeech, propoſed the previous queſtion to the decree of accuſation againſt M. La Fayette, he was hooted and exclaimed againſt by the audience in the gallery, and, as has been mentioned, narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination when he returned from the Aſſembly home.

However determined and fearleſs ſome individuals among them were, the generality cannot be ſuppoſed to have delivered or ſpoken their ſentiments with freedom afterwards, eſpecially as their own colleagues, who formed the minority, ſeemed

very well pleaſed when they were thus inſulted.

It is however worthy of being remarked, that notwithſtanding the ill humour and ſeditious expreſſions of a few members, yet, on the morning of the 10th, when the King and Royal Family came to the Aſſembly, they were received in a reſpectful manner; at that time it was not known how the conteſt expected at the Tuileries was to terminate; and if, by any extraordinary accident, it had ended in favour of thoſe who defended the palace, then the reſpect for the King would have been continued, and probably increaſed. What is moſt certain is, that as ſoon as it was known that the Swiſs fled, *then* all appearance of reſpect for the Royal Family ceaſed, and the whole Aſſembly *ſeemed* to rejoice at the victory. — The oath of egalité was no ſooner propoſed, than all the members ſtarted up as if they had been moved by one

ſpring,

ſpring, and took it.—No German regiment, however ſeverely exerciſed by the cane, however expert in military jerk, could have made a more inſtantaneous and uniform movement.

The ſuſpenſion of the King's authority was decreed with more deliberation, but equal unanimity; yet not till after it was known that the Swiſs and all the defenders of the caſtle were maſſacred or fled. The populace, of themſelves, or, what is more probable, by the direction of thoſe who, without appearing, have directed the principal movements of the revolt, began, on the 11th of Auguſt, to overſet and break in pieces the ſtatues of the Kings which adorned the public places of Paris; and *then*, but not before, the National Aſſembly decreed that thoſe ſtatues and every ſymbol of royalty ſhould be deſtroyed.

Every tranſaction and decree of the National Aſſembly, I ſtrongly ſuſpect, has been in ſome meaſure influenced by that general

general council which was elected by the ſections on the night of the 9th of Auguſt while the tocſin was ſounding, a deputation from which, immediately after the action of the 10th, appeared at the bar; declared that they conſidered themſelves as accountable to the Primary Aſſemblies of the French nation only; bullied the National Aſſembly into whatever they propoſed, and have by their agents kept it under terror ever ſince. This council, of their own authority, ordered the barriers to be ſhut, iſſued mandates for arreſting a prodigious number of citizens, and filled the priſons with thoſe victims who begun to be ſacrificed on the 2d of this month, and of whom, how painful the thought! the ſlaughter perhaps ſtill continues.

The popular Roberſpierre, who was a member of the conſtituent aſſembly, and it is thought will be one of the very firſt elected for the Convention, belongs alſo to this

this general council of the commune de Paris.

As he has been conſidered as the leading member of the Jacobin ſociety, and is diſtinguiſhed by his great popularity, it ſurpriſed many when he offered to become a member of the commune de Paris, and it impreſſed an idea that this body intended to aſſume the exerciſe of more important functions than ever.

But he was not heard of on the 10th of Auguſt, nor did he preſent himſelf to this Conſeil-general de commune till two or three days after—for although he is a patriot of the firſt eminence, and a moſt undaunted haranguer and diſputant in popular aſſemblies, yet he is thought rather to be inclined to ſhun ſuch conteſts as that which was carried on in the ſquare of the Carouſel on the 10th of Auguſt.

In perſon Roberſpierre is certainly not

an Ajax, although he is thought to agree with that hero in one ſentiment,

> Tutius eſt fictis igitur contendere verbis,
> Quam pugnare manu.

Few men however can *look* fiercer than Roberſpierre; in countenance he has a ſtriking reſemblance to a cat-tiger.

Marat is likewiſe a very active member of the general council of the commune.—This Marat is ſaid to love carnage like a vulture, and to delight in human ſacrifices like Moloch, God of the Ammonites.

Amiens, Sept. 5.

We left Chantilly early this morning, and breakfaſted at Clermont. The Bretons whom we heard of were ſtill at that place; about four thouſand men from the province of Brittany have paſſed through Clermont within this week, they march in detachments.

ments. The party we ſaw conſiſted of 600, and are to leave Clermont to-morrow.—They are ſtout young men, in high ſpirits, zealous for the ſervice, but without arms, and undiſciplined. To think of oppoſing thoſe raw youths to the veteran troops of Auſtria or Pruſſia, is ſending them to certain ſlaughter—they themſelves, however, have no ideas of that nature, and are only impatient for their arms, and to ſee the enemy. The gaiety of thoſe thoughtleſs young men made me melancholy; I could not help conſidering them as victims doomed to inevitable deſtruction.—Before we left Clermont, however, I heard ſomething which tended to abate the intereſt I took in them.

Yeſterday a man who ſells fiſh at Clermont, had a diſpute with ſome of the Bretons; he was imprudent enough to provoke them by abuſive language, which included the whole detachment: they threatened to

put the man to death—for death is the only punishment in the penal code of a French mob for all sort of offences—an English mob seldom go beyond ducking. They were proceeding to execute the sentence already pronounced: one of the magistrates stept in crying, "Arretez, Messieurs, s'il vous plait--que diable on ne tue pas un homme comme ça!*" He promised that the Bretons should have justice done them, and they consented that the man who had insulted them should be carried to the town-guard, till the offence should be legally examined and redressed. The officer of the guard, either through negligence or design, allowed the prisoner to escape. The Bretons were so enraged at this that they threatened the life of the officer, who immediately absconded. Not being able to wreak their vengeance on him, they talked of set-

* Stop, gentlemen, if you please—you do not think of killing a man in this manner!

ting

ting fire to the town, if either the priſoner or the officer of the town-guard was not found and puniſhed. Twenty men were detached on horſeback, by the magiſtrates, all over the country in ſearch of the fiſh-monger—he was found at ten leagues diſtance from Clermont, and brought back priſoner; his guard imagining, that, at the utmoſt, he would be obliged to pay a ſmall fine, and make an apology to thoſe he had offended: a party of the Bretons forced the guard as they entered Clermont, and cut off the head of the priſoner.

Having ſome converſation, as we paſſed on our way to Paris, with a citizen of Clermont, and meeting the ſame perſon ſtanding before the inn this day, I renewed my acquaintance with him, and he gave me the foregoing account. Several other citizens ſtood by while he made the recapitulation — C'eſt affreux! ſaid one—C'eſt horrible! ſaid another—C'eſt ſans contre dit un homme de

moins! * ſaid a third, taking a pinch of ſnuff.

The whole tranſaction, however, is very ſhocking!

How is it to be accounted for? Had the ſame thing happened at Paris, it would have been ſaid, the Pariſians have been accuſtomed to ſcenes of blood, and are become ſanguinary.—But here is a wanton murder, committed by a ſet of peaſants who inhabit the country at a diſtance from the wickedneſs of large cities. Power, unlimited power, is ſufficient to pervert the beſt diſpoſition—Theſe peaſants perceive, that they are under little or no controul; that the inhabitants of the villages, through which they paſs, fear them, and that they can give vent to their paſſions with impunity.

* It is frightful! ſaid one—It is ſhocking! ſaid another—It is undoubtedly one man leſs in the world, ſaid a third, &c.

In ſhort, they are in poſſeſſion of power, and therefore, like others in the ſame ſituation, they indulge every incitement of caprice or paſſion, which in other circumſtances they would have ſuppreſſed. No man who wiſhes to continue virtuous, would accept of the power of injuring his neighbours with impunity, were it offered him. No government, which values the general happineſs, will permit the leaſt privilege of this kind in any of its claſſes. The time has been in France, when a Prince of the Blood, or any man of high rank, could have run a fiſherman through the body for abuſive language, with as much impunity as thoſe Bretons will meet with for the murder of this poor man of Clermont. But if power were to continue in the hands of peaſants, things would be worſe than ever; and, notwithſtanding all the injuſtice and oppreſſion of the old government, France would be a loſer by the revolution.

Amiens, Sept. 6.

We remained this day at Amiens: I walked to the cathedral, which is a building of great antiquity, and is equal in magnificence to any in France. At a large table, immediately before the pulpit, ſeveral officers of the municipality ſat, and were employed in enrolling volunteers for the frontiers—a man went up to the pulpit, and read aloud a liſt of the names of thoſe perſons who had ſent patriotic gifts for the equipment of the volunteers; annexed to the name was the ſum each gave. Notwithſtanding all the genuine public ſpirit that prevails at preſent in France, this manner of proclaiming every donation, no doubt, is neceſſary to awake the liberality of many. A young man of a very prepoſſeſſing appearance aſcended the pulpit when the other came down. In a diſtinct voice, and with a modeſt air, he ſpoke to the following effect—" I am one of a company, ready to

march

march againſt the enemies of our country; after clothing and arming ourſelves at our own expence, we alſo offer a ſmall pittance in money towards defraying that of the public; all we can afford is a trifle; nothing but our lives, which we devote to the ſervice of our country, will be conſidered of more importance.—When I ſpeak of ſacrificing our own lives, I am inſtructed by my companions to declare, that we expect to be able to ſacrifice the lives of thoſe ſlaves who, without any animoſity to us, are obliged by their tyrants to march againſt France, becauſe its inhabitants are reſolved to be free. Many of us have parents and relations who depend for their maintenance on our induſtry, we recommend them to the humanity and gratitude of our fellow-citizens."

He deſcended amidſt the applauſe of the audience; and, I muſt acknowledge, that I have heard in other countries, as well as in

France,

France, many diſcourſes from the pulpit leſs intereſting than this.

Amidſt the diſorders and ſad events which have taken place in this country of late, it is impoſſible not to admire the generous ſpirit which glows all over the nation in ſupport of its independency. Before I left Paris, I heard of a lady who had offered to the National Aſſembly, to take twelve poor children, whoſe parents died in defence of their country, and to be at the whole expence of educating and ſupporting them to the age of ſixteen! I have heard of many ſimilar inſtances! No country ever diſplayed a nobler or more patriotic enthuſiaſm than pervades France at this period, and which glows with increaſing ardour ſince the publication of the Duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto, and the entrance of the Pruſſians into the country.—None but thoſe whoſe minds are obſcured by prejudice, or perverted by ſelfiſhneſs, will refuſe this juſ-

tice to the general ſpirit diſplayed by the French in defence of their national independence. A deteſtation of the exceſſes committed at Paris, and againſt the ſavage demagogues, who ſacrifice the honour and tranquillity of their country to ambition and revenge, not only is compatible with an admiration of this ſpirit; but it is ſuch well-formed minds alone as poſſeſs ſufficient candour and ſenſibility to admire the one, who can have a due horror of the other.

What have thoſe citizens, flocking from every province of this extenſive kingdom, ſpontaneouſly undergoing all the fatigues, and expoſing themſelves to all the dangers of war, in defence of their country; what have ſuch citizens in common with aſſaſſins? Or thoſe others, whoſe ſex, or age, or infirmities confine them at home, but who laviſh their fortunes in the ſame generous cauſe—what have they in common with perſecutors, vile informers, and falſe accuſers? Superior

perior to political and national prejudices, a generous Engliſhman will diſcriminate with candour—he will envy freedom to no nation; he will praiſe that public ſpirit in another people which warms his own breaſt, and which he admires in his own countrymen; he will not rejoice in the calamities of France, and wiſh ſo many millions of his fellow-creatures to be again forced under the yoke of deſpotiſm, merely becauſe France has formerly been at war with Great Britain.

But France may be at war with Great Britain again.

If that ſhould happen, France will then be the enemy of Great Britain, and every true Britiſh ſubject will be the enemy of France, and do all in his ſphere to ſubdue and bring her to reaſon.

But, in the mean time, ſhould a band of wicked men acquire undue influence with the people of France by zealous pre-

tenſions

tenſions to patriotiſm, or ſhould the expected National Aſſembly itſelf, through folly, ambition, or barbarity, or by a combination of all the three, blaſt the hopes of a free conſtitution, and ruin the happineſs of their country, ſtill the cauſe for which the revolution was undertaken remains the beſt in which men can engage; the folly, ambition, and barbarity of individuals, may conſign their own names to the execration of mankind, but cannot diminiſh the intrinſic value of freedom.

It is, however, when the cauſe of liberty is in danger of being diſhonoured by ſome who pretend to be its ſupporters, that thoſe who have a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings it confers will avow their ſentiments, and refuſe to join the undiſcerning herd, who turn that indignation, which is due to the wretches who diſgrace the cauſe of freedom, againſt freedom itſelf. It is at ſuch times that their avowed attachment is of moſt

import-

importance, becauſe it is then only that, in a free country, the intereſted votaries of power dare to preach their ſlaviſh doctrines.

There was no need to inculcate the value of liberty when the tyranny of Louis XIV. was dragooning his ſubjects out of their country, or ſhutting them up in dungeons, or chaining them to oars: the example of ſuch atrocious deeds rendered precept ſuperfluous. But when ſhocking crimes are perpetrated under the banners of liberty, by the tools of deſpotiſm, it is then neceſſary to vindicate the purity of the one from the guilt of the other.

Before I left Paris, I heard a perſon who was filled with indignation at the recital of the horrors then committing, cry, "D—n liberty, I abhor its very name!"—The indignation was juſt; but ſurely it was ill directed.

If he had been hearing a recital of the cruelties which have been exerciſed on various occaſions

occaſions under the pretext of zeal for the Chriſtian religion, whoſe eſſence is mercy and good-will to man, he might with equal juſtice and diſcernment have ſaid, "D—n the Chriſtian religion, I abhor its very name!"

No diſpaſſionate man will deny that liberty in the abſtract is good; yet it becomes a bleſſing in ſociety only as reſtrained by juſt laws, and combined with government: men of the beſt characters, who are equally the friends of liberty, will differ with regard to the mode of this combination.

From the effects it has hitherto produced, few will admire that which has exiſted in France ſince the 10th of Auguſt; but whatever horror we may feel at the crimes of ambitious, unprincipled individuals, the candid will approve of the national ſpirit of the people in defence of their national independency; and the benevolent will wiſh that it

may

may be rewarded with the bleſſing of a free and well-regulated government.

With reſpect to thoſe with whom ſentiments of general benevolence have little effect, it may be uſeful to remind them, that the proſperity of England, as a commercial country, ſuffers by the miſery of France.

Flexcourt, Sept. 7.

We intended to have left Amiens early this morning, and ordered poſt horſes accordingly—the poſtmaſter detained us by pretending he had no poſtillion: we afterwards found that he had furniſhed horſes and poſtillions to others, and detained us under frivolous and falſe pretexts. The only reaſon I could imagine for this preference was, that inſtead of going to the poſthouſe we had driven to another inn. Underſtanding that there were two commiſ-

ſaries

ſaries from the National Aſſembly at Amiens, we made a complaint to them of the poſtmaſter:—they directly ordered a corporal and four of the national guards to bring the poſtmaſter before them. They told him it was his duty to have poſtillions ready for the uſe of travellers: they accuſed him of ſerving others who came after we had ordered horſes, and ſaid, it was his duty to be impartial; but if favour was to be ſhewn it ought to be to ſtrangers, and particularly to the Engliſh, a people for whom they had a great eſteem, and whom they conſidered as their friends. Without liſtening to the man's explanations, they threatened to ſend him to priſon if he did not provide us with horſes and poſtillions directly. After abuſing and threatening the man a great deal, one of the commiſſioners ſaid, Eh, bien l'ami, you will provide the gentlemen with what they want, will you not? The poſtmaſter ſaid he would do his beſt; on

which, by an inſtantaneous tranſition from every appearance of anger, aſſuming a conciliatory countenance and accent, he filled a tumbler full of Burgundy to the poſtmaſter, and deſired him to drink á la nation, and diſmiſſed him.—We had the poſtillions and horſes a few minutes after.

I went laſt night to the playhouſe at Amiens.—The houſe is commodious, the play was well acted, and the audience numerous; they ſeemed highly pleaſed with their entertainment.—I am aſtoniſhed at the mirth and gaiety which the French diſplay at all public places, in the preſent ſtate of the country: had I come into Amiens without any previous knowledge of the circumſtances in which France at preſent is, I ſhould not have had the leaſt ſuſpicion, from the appearance of the inhabitants in the ſtreet, and ſtill leſs at public places, that they were threatened with any danger or calamity.

A little

A little before we left Amiens, accounts were received that the inhabitants of a village within a few leagues of that town were in a ſtate of inſurrection.—Three hundred and fifty of the national guards, and two hundred dragoons, were ordered by the commiſſioners to march againſt the villagers, who it was underſtood were prepared for reſiſtance. The troops were drawn up and ready to march when we left Amiens. I had ſome converſation with one of the officers: I remarked, that they were going on a diſagreeable ſervice—he anſwered, that its being diſagreeable did not proceed from the danger, becauſe he was convinced the peaſants would ſubmit as ſoon as the troops appeared—but he was ſure that it would be more agreeable to the whole party to be ſent againſt the Pruſſians.

It was ſo late in the afternoon before we left Amiens, that we ſhall paſs the night at this place: we were a good deal retarded

on the road by a coach with four horſes, which we overtook, but were not allowed to paſs. By the ordinance reſpecting poſting, cabriolets or chaiſes with three horſes each, cannot paſs a coach with four: this appears an abſurd regulation; on my ſpeaking of it at the inn here, the landlord ſaid, that it was ordained under a ſevere penalty, and therefore ſtrictly adhered to, unleſs thoſe in the coach deſired it to be diſpenſed with. On this a genteel-looking elderly man came up, and aſſured me that he did not know of our being retarded by his carriage, otherwiſe he ſhould certainly have deſired his poſtillion to let us paſs.

This gentleman remains all night at Flexcourt alſo; I had ſome converſation with him apart—he ſpoke with great horror of what lately happened at Paris—and expreſſed ſurpriſe that ſtrangers, eſpecially Engliſhmen, could bear to be in France at preſent. Yours is a happy country, added

he;

he; you enjoy freedom without anarchy. I ſaid, that I hoped that his country would attain the ſame bleſſing, and that the troubles of France were near an end. There is more reaſon to fear, reſumed he with earneſtneſs, that they are but beginning.—The people are miſled; they have been taught dangerous maxims, which it will be very difficult to induce them to relinquiſh.—Every thing is puſhed to exceſs, ſo that the remedy of certain evils has become worſe than the evil itſelf. The people of France were tyrannized over, to remedy which they are now made tyrants. I myſelf, continued he, heard ſome members of the National Aſſembly reaſon with a ſet of the populace, to perſuade them not to perſiſt in an outrage againſt which there was a decree of the Aſſembly, and to prove to them that they ought to obey the dictates of the ſupreme court of the nation. What do you think was the anſwer of one of the crowd

to this remonſtrance? "The National Aſſembly ought rather to obey our dictates, ſince they are only the *repreſentatives* of the people, whereas we are the *people* ourſelves." This ſhews, added the gentleman, in what a dreadful ſtate we are:—a ſet of villains miſlead the people, and, by the means of the people, domineer over the National Aſſembly; this will be the ruin of France, continued he, and not the army of Brunſwick.

I mentioned the Bretons and other troops I had ſeen going to reinforce their army, and hinted that their want of diſcipline would give the enemy a great advantage over them. "Many of my countrymen will be deſtroyed undoubtedly," anſwered he, "but others will preſs on in their place; courage and impetuoſity will overpower diſcipline, and, believe me, France has nothing to fear from foreign enemies, but every thing from internal diſcord and villany. This idea I find univerſal among the French: thoſe who

who approve of the revolution, expect that France will ſoon enjoy more power and proſperity than ever; thoſe who diſapprove of it, lament the diſorder under which their country ſuffers, but ſtill think the foreign armies will be baffled."

Abbéville, Sept. 8.

I was informed by the landlord of the inn at Flexcourt, that the gentleman with whom I converſed laſt night had ſet out very early this morning. The buſineſs of this inn is carried on by the landlady and her two daughters, the landlord being a goſſiping fat man, who does nothing; and is harmleſs in all reſpects, except that he is eternally in the way, and teaſes the gueſts a good deal with his converſation.

After he had told me that the gentleman was gone, that he lived at ſome leagues diſtance, that he had known him long, and that he was a very good kind of man, he drew

me a little aſide, and added, " C'eſt un fier ariſtocrate; mais je me ſuis fait un principe de ne le dire à qui que ce ſoit au monde, parceque cela pouvoit lui occaſioner quelque malheur—et vraiment c'eſt un digne homme, et mon ami de tout temps*." I was going away, but he held me a little by the ſleeve, and added, " Surtout, n'en dites rien à ma femme, parce qu'elle eſt une democrate enragée, et qu'il lui eſt impoſſible de garder un ſecret†."

No, no, ſaid I.

" Oh jamais!" continued the landlord, " ſi elle le ſçavoit une fois, elle ne pourroit s'empêcher de le dire au premier paſſant‡."

* He is a great ariſtocrate; but I make it a rule never to mention this to any body, as it might bring him to trouble, for he is a worthy man, and has always been a good friend to me.

† Above all, ſay nothing of this to my wife, becauſe ſhe is a violent democrate, and, beſides, never could keep a ſecret.

‡ Never—If ſhe knew it, ſhe would tell it to the firſt ſtranger who arrives.

On

On arriving at the gates of this town, we were conducted to the town-houſe by one of the national guards. Some of the magiſtrates were there, who, having examined our paſſports, behaved with great civility, and aſked many queſtions regarding the ſtate of affairs at Paris. The election for the Conventional Aſſembly is carrying on at preſent in this town. A great many of the electors live at the inn in which we are: of thirteen members to be choſen here, ſix are already elected. One of the electors told me, that they once had thoughts of electing Mr. Thomas Paine as one of the deputies of this department; but they had dropped that idea on hearing that he was already elected for the departments of the Pas de Calais, and that of l'Oiſe.

Abbéville, Sept. 9.

As the elections are carrying on, we remain here. I went yeſterday and to-day to the church, where the election is made by ballot.

ballot. One deputy was choſen yeſterday, and another this morning very early. One of the electors, who accompanied me from the inn, told me, that a conſiderable number had loſt their votes by coming too late, by which means a man who was *par état un cultivateur* was elected that very day. This profeſſion of a farmer is becoming more reſpectable every day in France; and if they ever ſhould enjoy a well-eſtabliſhed free government, the nation will be full of yeomanry. I aſked of my informer what kind of man this cultivateur was? He anſwered, that he was a very worthy man, with plain ſound ſenſe, although his underſtanding had not been ſo much enlightened by learning as that of his opponent, who was a lawyer: but, added he, "Peut être il n'y a rien à regreter, car l'intégrité vaut bien la littérature pour un légiſlateur *."

* Perhaps there is no reaſon to be ſorry for this, becauſe integrity is full as valuable as learning in a Legiſlator.

This

This town makes rather a gayer appearance than uſual: the election of deputies for the Conventional Aſſembly has attracted a great number of ſtrangers. I hardly remember to have ſeen the ſtreets of any provincial town of France ſo much crowded, except on ſome feſtival day, as thoſe of Abbéville are at preſent; nor did I ever ſee the lower orders in any town ſeem more at their eaſe, or in general better dreſſed. Abbéville is a manufacturing town, and moſt of the tradeſmen are able to purchaſe the national guard uniform: the country people who frequent the markets here, ſeem remarkably clean and healthy. I do not know how it happens, but the female part of the French peaſantry dreſs not only with neatneſs, but a kind of elegance; while the dreſs of the males is the moſt formal, clumſy, unbecoming thing in the world: —that women ſhould dreſs with more taſte and fancy than men, is natural; but why this ſhould appear

pear in a greater degree among one claſs of one particular nation, than in others, I know no reaſon. This is evidently not the caſe in England.

What will diſturb the gaiety of this town, and fill the breaſts of many with fear and inquietude, is the departure of five hundred of the inhabitants for Chalons, which is to happen to-morrow: theſe form a band of fine-looking young men, all well clothed and well armed; they have been embodied for ſome time, and ſeem expert at the uſual manœuvres of military exerciſe;—but the chief quality, and that which muſt be moſt depended on in thoſe who are marching from every part of France againſt the foreign enemy, is that active enthuſiaſtic ardour with which they are all inflamed.

As I was walking with my ſon this day on the ramparts, we overtook a perſon, with whom I entered into converſation. He informed me that he was a proteſtant;

that

that he lived at ſome leagues diſtance from Abbéville, and was now here in the quality of an elector. I ſpoke to him of the univerſal ſpirit which pervaded the country, and the numbers coming from all corners to fight in its defence, which, I added, left little doubt of the enemies being ultimately repulſed.

" If the Almighty (replied he) takes the part of France, the enemy will undoubtedly be repulſed with loſs and diſgrace; but if he is otherwiſe inclined, the number and bravery of our armies will be of little avail. It is not," continued he, " the Pruſſians, or Auſtrians, or Ruſſians—no—nor all the combined powers of Europe that we have to fear, but the diſpleaſure of God, on account of our neglect of religious duties:"—He added, with a ſigh, " that this neglect had arrived at a moſt alarming height in France of late." There was no denying the firſt clauſe of his obſervation, and I had no in-

clination to diſpute the ſecond; however, ſaid, that it afforded me pleaſure to find that the proteſtants were ſo much better treated now than formerly.—" It is fortunate for us proteſtants (he replied) that we are not perſecuted as we were in former times; but it is unfortunate for all France, that, along with the ſpirit of perſecution, that of religion daily diminiſhes."

I obſerved that, as nothing could be more oppoſite to true religion than a ſpirit of perſecution, the former, it was to be hoped, would return without the latter; but, in the mean time, the proteſtants were happy in not only being tolerated in the exerciſe of their religion, but alſo on being rendered capable of enjoying every privilege and advantage which the catholics themſelves enjoy.

" We are not allowed thoſe advantages (reſumed he) from any regard they bear to our

our religion, but from a total indifference for their own."

Whatever the cauſe may be, ſaid I, the effect is the ſame with regard to you.

No, replied he, the effect might be better, not only with reſpect to us, but to all France, for the ſpirit of perſecution might have diſappeared without an indifference for all religion coming in its place; and in that caſe there would have been more probability of the true religion gaining ground; for it is eaſier to draw men from an erroneous doctrine to a true one, than to impreſs the truths of religion on minds which deſpiſe all religion whatever.

But although you may not be able to make them converts, I replied, ſtill you may live happy among them, in the quiet poſſeſſion of your own religion, and all your other advantages.

I doubt it much, returned he; being perſuaded that, in a country where religious

ſentiments

ſentiments are effaced from the minds of the bulk of the people, crimes of the deepeſt guilt will prevail in ſpite of all the reſtraints of law.

It is a pretty general opinion, and has been much inſiſted on, and variouſly illuſtrated by the philoſophers of this century, that religious zeal inſtigates men to more exorbitant acts of cruelty and injuſtice than any other motive.

I was reflecting on this, after parting with my proteſtant acquaintance, when, by accounts from Paris, I learned, that, on the very morning of the day on which we left that city, above two hundred prieſts who refuſed to take the oaths (prêtres refractaires), and were confined in the convent of the Carmes—it is ſhocking to relate—but I am aſſured that there was conſiderably above two hundred of thoſe poor men inhumanely maſſacred within the walls of that convent. M. Sicard, the celebrated inſtructor of the deaf

deaf and dumb, was the only perſon ſaved, and he, by the active and intrepid efforts of a M. Monnot.

Nobody will pretend that theſe horrid maſſacres proceeded from religious zeal: thoſe poor prieſts were the miniſters of the ſame religion with their aſſaſſins. What can the records of religious perſecutions preſent more atrocious? Other motives, then, can inſtigate men to as exorbitant acts of cruelty and injuſtice, as a miſtaken zeal for religion ever did.

A mob of fanatics may be inſtigated to murder thoſe whom they believe to be the enemies of God and of religion, but will refuſe to aſſaſſinate their fellow-creatures in any other cauſe. A mob, devoid of religious impreſſions, may be inſtigated to murder, in any cauſe where their intereſt is concerned, when they think they can do it with ſafety; and it cannot be doubted, that if religious ſentiments had kept any hold of

the minds of the directors or executers of the late maſſacres at Paris, they never would have been either the one or the other.

In the preſent times, therefore, when all idea of perſecuting men on account of a difference of religion is baniſhed from Europe, I am perſuaded that promoting a ſenſe of religion in the minds of the people at large, would be leſs liable than ever to be perverted into wicked purpoſes, and, of courſe, more beneficial to general ſociety.

Boulogne, Sept. 10.

This morning, a little before we quitted Abbéville, a very ſingular incident occurred in the church where the deputies were elected. A lady of that town had, ſome time ſince, ſent a liberal patriotic gift to the National Aſſembly; ſhe was much praiſed for this act, which made a great impreſſion on one elector in particular. What this gentleman moſt admired in human

many nature, was the art of compoſing verſes, and the quality of generoſity; he had a higher reliſh for the firſt in himſelf than in others, whereas the ſecond delighted him more in others than in himſelf.

He compoſed a poem in praiſe of the lady above-mentioned, wherein he enumerated all her virtues, and inſiſted particularly on that of which ſhe had given a recent proof. He carried this compoſition to the church during the election, and was reading it to a circle of the electors, when one, who did not hear diſtinctly, called " a la tribune." The poet inſtantly aſcended the pulpit, and read his verſes with aſtoniſhing emphaſis. They pleaſed in ſuch a manner that the whole audience fell into repeated fits of laughter, and the poet was delighted with the ſucceſs of his verſes. At laſt ſome one, who thought that ſuch a happy compoſition ſhould be enjoyed in all ſhapes, exclaimed, " Chantez les!" which requeſt

being repeated by others, the author, after a few preparatory hems, adapted the verſes to a tune of his own *immediate* recollection. I can hardly imagine that any of his countrymen, on the frontiers, will ſhew more intrepidity than this man diſplayed on this occaſion.

The ſtate priſoners, who have been ſo long confined at Orleans, were ordered to be conducted to Paris; but on the dreadful diſorders which happened in that city, it was thought improper to carry them thither, and the Aſſembly ordered that, inſtead of Paris, they ſhould be taken to Saumur. The guards who had been ſent to perform this duty, perſiſted in executing the firſt order, even after they had received the ſecond: this gave great uneaſineſs to the friends of the priſoners; and, on its being mentioned in the Aſſembly, a third order was iſſued to carry the priſoners to Saumur. The guards, we are informed, obeyed the orders of the

Aſſembly, by not taking them to Paris, but diſobeyed them in refuſing to conduct theſe priſoners to Saumur; and, inſtead of either, are actually carrying them to Verſailles.

What is the meaning of this? thoſe troops would not diſobey the Aſſembly of themſelves—They muſt be acting under the influence of ſome man, or body of men, who do not appear.

Yet while Paris is ſo little under government, that it is thought unſafe to carry priſoners to it, ſtill I hear of no private aſſaſſinations, no ſtreet robberies—all the villanies of this people ſeem to be committed under ſome pretext of a public or patriotic nature.

Although the people in general, both thoſe of Paris and thoſe I have converſed with ſince we left it, lament the manner in which the priſoners were put to death; yet many believe that they deſerved to die, and that they would have been equally executed

had the forms of law, and rules of juſtice, been previouſly uſed.

If this could be proved, which certainly it cannot, it would form no palliation of the criminality of the authors of the maſſacres. He that, from private hatred or mere wantonneſs, ſtabs a murderer, who is in the hands of juſtice, and about to be tried for his life, commits a murder; and the man who is guilty of ſuch a violation of law, would offer in vain to prove the guilt of the perſon he had ſtabbed; it would not be allowed in his defence.

Very great pains have been taken, however, to urge this notion of the guilt of the priſoners as a vindication of the aſſaſſins; and alſo, that the aſſaſſins were no other than a promiſcuous crowd of the citizens of Paris.

This idea is propagated in all the journals printed at Paris. If the editors of thoſe journals were ſo inclined, they durſt not

publiſh a contrary account of the matter; for if thoſe maſſacres were not committed by a furious multitude, which the eyes of government cannot diſcriminate, nor the hands ſeize—by whom were they committed? This is a queſtion which, I am aſſured, it would be much more eaſy than it would be ſafe to anſwer.

But what may lead to conſequences of the moſt extenſive miſchief, and is as diſguſting as the maſſacres themſelves, is to ſee them juſtified in public journals, where they have been ſpoken of as a terrible but *neceſſary* example of the juſtice of the people. "Men of cold phlegmatic characters," ſay thoſe gazetteers, "aſſert that the ſword of law only has a right to ſtrike at the neck of criminals:—True," add they, "if we were not in a ſtate of war, if an army of foreign mercenaries had not entered our country, who are in correſpondence with

thoſe priſoners, to enſlave the nation and murder its defenders.

Tallien, one of the commiſſaries ſent by the general council of the commune de Paris to the National Aſſembly, on the third of September, to give an account of what was paſſing, and had paſſed, in the priſons — ſpeaking to the Aſſembly, uſed theſe remarkable words, "Les commiſſaires ont fait ce qu'ils ont pu pour empêcher les *déſordres* (the maſſacring the priſoners is what he calls diſorders), mais ils n'ont pu arrêter, en quelque ſorte, la *juſte vengeance* du peuple *."

The juſt vengeance of the people! If the National Aſſembly had not been overawed, would they have liſtened with patience to ſuch expreſſions?

* The Commiſſaries did all they could to prevent the diſorders, but it was not in their power to ſtop the vengeance of the people, which, in ſome meaſure, was juſt.

It

it never can be juſt in the people to exerciſe vengeance—that belongs to the laws alone.

The manifeſto publiſhed by the Duke of Brunſwick has irritated the minds of all ranks, and filled France with one ſentiment of indignation. That prince muſt have been wonderfully miſinformed reſpecting the ſtate of people's minds in this country: but, indeed, I queſtion if there would have been ſo much unanimity among them, had that manifeſto not appeared.

Let the King of Pruſſia and Duke of Brunſwick tyranniſe over their own ſubjects, ſay they, and cane their ſoldiers into fighting machines, ſince they can bear it: but are they to tell the French nation, the late alteration in your government diſpleaſes us—you muſt re-eſtabliſh things on the old footing; and when you have done ſo, we will conſider what puniſhment is to be inflicted on thoſe who propoſed the alterations.

tions. Such is the language I hear very frequently.

Boulogne, Sept. 11.

This town is not near ſo populous, nor, in my opinion, ſo agreeable as Abbéville. The ſituation of the high town, however, is advantageous and lofty, and ſurrounded with ramparts. The emigration of the nobleſſe, who formerly lived here, tends, no doubt, to throw a gloom on the place, which I think more remarkable here than in any town of France that I recollect. This was diſſipated for ſome time to-day by a marriage:—The bride and bridegroom, with a number of their friends of both ſexes, in their beſt attire, walked in proceſſion to the church, accompanied with a band of muſic, playing ça ira; to which the people at the ſhop doors and windows nodded in time, and ſome joined with their voices.

This nation ſeems always in uniſon with chcerfulneſs; and if an accidental gloom begins

begins to overſhadow them, the ſlighteſt ray of gaiety is ſufficient to diſperſe it, and enable them to join in full chorus with the voice of joy.

A few days before we left Paris, the inhabitants were certainly not in a cheerful mood, but that was owing to a concurrence of circumſtances of a nature to have hung the blackeſt clouds of melancholy over the minds of many people for life. I underſtand that theirs have brightened up in a great degree already, and that the Pruſſian armies, though further advanced into France, and nearer Paris than ever, give them no kind of concern; they are now fully convinced that they will be repulſed, or completely deſtroyed. It is fortunate for a nation, when attacked by powerful enemies, to retain a proper confidence in their own ſtrength and reſources, becauſe that very confidence contributes to their ſucceſs; but I ſhould have full as much reliance on their

courage,

courage, if it were more modeſtly expreſſed than it ſometimes is at the bar of the National Aſſembly.

One detachment ſwear that they never will quit their arms, " Qu'après avoir purgé la terre des brigands couronnés *."

Another that they will, in the day of battle, keep their ground, and remain at their poſt, " Auſſi inébranlables que le Mont-Martre l'eſt devant Paris †."

Another, after declaring an everlaſting hatred to tyrants, adds, " Nous faiſons le ſerment des Spartiates, de revenir avec nos boucliers, ou d'être portés deſſus; nous nous ferons tous couper en morceaux plutôt que de céder à l'ennemi le champ de bataille, et nous nous ſervirons encore de nos dents pour dernieres armes. Nous promettons de rap-

* Till after they have cleared the earth of crowned robbers.

† As unmoveable as Mont-martre before Paris.

porter

porter ſur nos caſques, a chacun pour crinière, la longue chevelure d'un Germain *."

Men who ſpeak ſuch language, muſt fight very bravely indeed to equal the expectation which they wiſh to raiſe: for my own part, I am inclined to believe, that the French will ſhew a great deal of courage, becauſe it belongs to the national character at all times; and becauſe, at this particular time, their ſpirits are mounted by the energy of enthuſiaſm highly above the natural ſtandard. From what I have heard, and am able to obſerve ſince I have been in this country, I am alſo led to believe, that the German armies will be diſappointed in their expectations of being joined by the inha-

* We ſwear, like the Lacedæmonians, either to bring back our bucklers, or to be carried back upon them; we will all be cut in pieces ſooner than yield the field of battle to the enemy; we will fight even with our teeth if other arms fail; and we promiſe, that each of us will return with the long hair of a German as an ornament to our helmets.

bitants,

bitants, or of inſurrections in their favour. But, notwithſtanding that theſe are my opinions, I confeſs that I do not feel the ſame perſuaſion that ſeems to prevail all over France, that the Duke of Brunſwick will not be able to penetrate to Paris, ſo high is my idea of his military ſkill, and of the ſuperiority of diſciplined troops. The confidence of the French makes them overlook or deſpiſe thoſe articles, and ſometimes manifeſts itſelf in a ſingular manner!

On the firſt of this month, in a company who were dining together, the chance of the Duke of Brunſwick's coming to Paris became the ſubject of diſcourſe:—One gentleman offered to bet conſiderable odds that he would not get ſo far, nobody thought proper to accept the bet: he then offered ſtill greater odds, and a perſon preſent took them, which he had no ſooner done, than another obſerved to him, that it was ſurpriſing that he,

he of all men, ſhould have done ſo, becauſe he had often aſſerted, that he thought it quite impoſſible for the Duke of Brunſwick to force his way to Paris:—I think ſo ſtill, replied the other; but it is very poſſible he may be brought here priſoner, and on that chance only, I took the odds.

The commiſſioners, which are ſent from the National Aſſembly to every department of France, are endowed with the power of breaking the municipalities and ordering a new ſet of magiſtrates to be elected: alſo of ſuſpending the public officers, civil or military, when there is any reaſon to ſuſpect their conduct. Theſe commiſſaries muſt likewiſe have very great influence in ſpreading thoſe opinions which the ruling part of the Aſſembly wiſh to prevail. That republican ſentiments are of this number, ſeems probable from many circumſtances that have lately occurred, and particularly from their being avowed and even proclaimed by

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the candidates for the enſuing National Aſſembly. Rabaut de St. Etienne, who was a member of the firſt aſſembly, has been lately elected a deputy to the convention: it would appear that ſomebody had circulated a report that he was a friend to a monarchical form of government, and had no averſion to kings, provided they were honeſt men: this he conſiders as calumnious; and in his letter to the aſſembly, announcing his election, he profeſſes a determined hatred to royalty and kings without exception.— "C'eſt ainſi," he adds, "que je reponds aux calomnies, qui ſont le fruit de la malveillance, accueillies par la credulité.*"

From this a pretty ſtrong preſumption may be formed of what the complexion of the national convention will be, if ever it ſhould exiſt, for there are people who ſtill harbour

* This is the anſwer I give to calumnies, which are the fruits of malevolence gathered by credulity.

doubts

doubts on that head—there are however a conſiderable number of the deputies already elected, and, contrary to the opinion of many, all who are elected have accepted.

Boulogne, Sept. 12.

The council of the commune de Paris have the power at preſent of ſending commiſſaries, as well as the National Aſſembly; and it would ſeem that the power of thoſe ſent by the former is as extenſive as that of thoſe delegated by the latter. A letter was lately read in the National Aſſembly from a commiſſioner ſent by the commune to the army under Luckner, at Chalons, in which the commiſſary, whoſe name is Billaud de Varennes, complains of the conduct of the municipality, talks of breaking them if he finds that the majority do not adopt the meaſures which he and his brother commiſſaries think expedient.—He alſo makes ſome very ſevere remarks on the con-

duct of General Luckner, and gives ſuch an account of the neglect of many things neceſſary for the troops, and the confuſion and want of ſyſtem upon the whole, as greatly increaſes the chance of the Duke of Brunſwick's being able to penetrate to Paris.

One would naturally have imagined that the troops of the line were more to be depended on than the new levies made at Paris; but this does not ſeem to be the opinion of Billaud de Varennes, for after the diſcouraging ſtatement of the ſituation of the troops at Chalons, and hinting at the ſmall force which Dumourier has to oppoſe to the numerous and diſciplined army under the Duke, he gives the Aſſembly to know, that what they have moſt to rely on is the Pariſian army—and concludes his letter with theſe words: "Courage, mes chere concitoyens! Brunſwick doit trembler,

car

car les Pariſiens ſont à dix lieues de ſon camp*."

Moſt people (excluſive of the French themſelves) will be of opinion, that it is not the Duke of Brunſwick who has the greateſt reaſon to tremble; and that the Pariſians will act wiſely in not approaching nearer to his camp.

Boulogne, Sept. 13.

The character of ſome of the deputies already choſen by the department of Paris, does not tend to convey high expectations of the enſuing Convention. Marat is of the number: he is ſuppoſed to have obtained this honour partly by his own popularity among the low claſſes, and partly through the influence of a faction, at the head of which are Danton, the miniſter of

* Take courage, my fellow-citizens! Brunſwick may tremble, for the Pariſians are within ten leagues of his camp.

juſtice, and Roberſpierre. As the reputation of Marat was not of pure white previous to the 2d of September, and has been conſidered of a ſcarlet hue ſince, it was thought neceſſary to prepare the minds of the electors, and endeavour to conciliate them in his favour, before the day of election: for this purpoſe Chabot, who was formerly a Franciſcan friar, has been ſince a patriotic orator, and is already choſen a deputy to the Convention, made an oration in his favour in the ſociety of Jacobins, of which many of the electors are members. As this diſcourſe is certainly of a very extraordinary nature, and as it diſcovers the diſpoſition both of the orator and the perſon he recommends, I ſhall give the following paſſage from it— "On a reproché à Marat," ſaid the capuchin, "d'avoir été ſanguinaire; d'avoir, par exemple, contribué au maſſacre qui vient d'être fait dans les priſons; mais en cela il étoit dans le ſens de la revolution; car il n'étoit

n'étoit pas naturel, pendant que les plus vaillans patriotes s'en alloient aux frontières, de reſter ici expoſé aux coups des priſonniers à qui l'on promettoit des armes et la liberté pour nous aſſaſſiner. On dit qu'il a été ſanguinaire parce qu'il a demandé plus d'une fois le ſang des ariſtocrates, et même le ſang des membres corrompus de l'aſſemblée conſtituante. Mais il eſt connu que le plan des ariſtocrates a toujours été et eſt encore de faire un carnage de tous les ſans-culottes: or, comme le nombre de ceux ci eſt a celui des ariſtocrates comme 99 eſt a un, il eſt clair que celui qui demandé que l'on tue 1 pour eviter qu'on ne tue pas 99, n'eſt pas ſanguinaire. Il n'eſt pas non plus incendiaire, car il a propoſé de donner aux ſans-culottes les dependilles des ariſtocrates; il ne peut donc pas être accuſé d'avoir voulu les incendier*?"

Not-

*Marat is reproached with being of a ſanguinary

Notwithſtanding the merciful ſpirit and logical force of reaſoning which appears in this precious morſel of eloquence, it was not thought ſafe to truſt entirely to it—

diſpoſition: that he contributed, for example, to the late maſſacres in the priſons; but in doing ſo he acted in the true ſpirit of the revolution, for it was not to be expected that, while our braveſt patriots went to the frontiers, we ſhould remain here expoſed to the rage of the priſoners, who were promiſed arms, and the opportunity of aſſaſſinating us. We are told that he is ſanguinary, becauſe oftener than once he demanded the blood of the ariſtocrates, and alſo that of the corrupt members of the conſtituent aſſembly. But it is well known, that the plan of the ariſtocrates always has been, and ſtill is, to make a general carnage of the ſans-culottes. Now, as the number of the latter is to that of the former in the proportion of ninety-nine to one, it is evident that he who propoſes to kill one, to prevent the killing of ninety-nine, is not a blood-thirſty man. Neither can he juſtly be called an incendiary, for he propoſed to give the ſpoils of the ariſtocrates to the ſans-culottes! how then can he be accuſed of wiſhing to burn them?

Roberſpierre thought it neceſſary to add the weight of his eloquence. In a harangue made by him in the electoral aſſembly, the import of which was to point out the qualities of moſt importance in a deputy for the conventional aſſembly; he at length pointed out Marat and Le Gendre as two men highly worthy of the ſuffrages of the electors—They were both choſen accordingly.—Marat's merit is notorious: what recommended Le Gendre to the patronage of Roberſpierre I know not, unleſs it be that he is by profeſſion a butcher.

Calais, Sept. 14.

Before we left Boulogne this morning, we heard that the ſtate priſoners, ſoon after their arrival from Orleans, were maſſacred in the ſtreets of Verſailles!—Theſe repeated maſſacres fill the mind with horror—create a deteſtation of the people who can ſuffer ſuch things, and will injure the French revolu-

tion more than if the Duke of Brunſwick had beaten their armies, and were in poſſeſſion of Paris itſelf.

I abhor writing any more about them—Wretches!

Calais, Sept. 15.

I ſhould be ſorry to ſay any thing in favour of that deſpotiſm which has prevailed in far the greater part of the globe, from the earlieſt period of recorded manners and government—nor do I wiſh to urge any thing in extenuation of that complex ſyſtem of ſlavery under which the whole French nation, though in unequal degrees, were debaſed and oppreſſed; and leaſt of all would I depreciate the merit of thoſe who, from honeſt indignation at injuſtice and tyranny, and a generous deſire of obtaining equal laws, and a limited monarchy, united their efforts in overthrowing the old arbitrary ſyſtem.

But

But had thoſe patriots been able to foreſee all the conſequences with which their well-intended efforts have been followed, the wild and deſtructive notions with which the multitude have been inſpired by unprincipled men, under the maſk of patriotiſm, who, from the baſeſt and moſt wicked motives, direct the blind fury of the people againſt their beſt friends, and render them more cruel and oppreſſive than their greateſt oppreſſors; and, finally, could thoſe patriots have foreſeen the barbarous maſſacres which have diſgraced France of late, would it *not have puzzled their wills, and made them rather bear thoſe ills they had*, than fly to others that they knew not of? What! are men to bear all the various wanton indignities and oppreſſions of a tyrannical government, rather than attempt to overturn it, leſt a worſe thing ſhould befal them?

No independent mind can ever ſubſcribe

to

to ſuch a doctrine; though there is reaſon to fear, that the horrid things which have of late been tranſacted in France will procure it more proſelytes than ever. But thoſe horrid tranſactions are not the neceſſary conſequence of a ſtruggle againſt tyranny—they are unprecedented in the hiſtory of the world; they are not the work of the lovers of freedom, but of the infernal agents of ſome cowardly deſpot, who dares not yet rear his head.

But, terrible as the riſk of ſuch ſcenes are, let it be remembered, that imagination can hardly paint any thing more intolerable, than that diſmal, hopeleſs gloom, which a deſpotic government throws over the minds of men who have acquired a veneration for equity, for impartial laws, and a juſt idea of liberty. Shut out knowledge, and every ſentiment of this kind, and men will live with occaſional comfort in the moſt abject ſlavery: but ſuch ſentiments and

ideas

ideas having once entered the mind of man, he is wretched under deſpotiſm, and cannot taſte tranquillity without rational freedom.

Such conſiderations naturally lead the mind to reflect on the enviable condition of that ſmall portion of the inhabitants of Europe who live under governments free from the evils which oppreſſed France, and particularly thoſe who live under a conſtitution ſo admirably poiſed that it requires no dangerous renovation, and contains within its fabric the ſafe means of repair when they are needed.

There was a ſearch for arms all over Calais laſt night; I ſuppoſe the ſame has taken place, or will ſoon, in every town in France: they find it very difficult to find arms for the immenſe armies now on foot.

Calais, Sept. 16.

When the magiſtrates and citizens of Verdun

Verdun ſhewed a diſpoſition to capitulate, and deliver up the town to the Pruſſians, Beaurepaire, colonel of the regiment of Mayenne and Loire, and commandant of the garriſon of Verdun, no ſooner heard of their intentions, than he haſtened from the ramparts, where he was encouraging the ſoldiers, to the town-hall, where the magiſtrates were aſſembled, and uſed all his influence to perſuade them to hold out: —but finding them determined on a meaſure which he thought diſgraceful, he pulled a piſtol from his pocket, and ſhot himſelf in the middle of the council. The volunteers whom he commanded would not allow his body to be buried at Verdun, of which the Pruſſians were immediately to take poſſeſſion, but carried it to Saint-Menehould.

M. Delaunay having heard of this, propoſed in the National Aſſembly, that the remains of Beaurepaire ſhould be brought from St. Menehould, and interred in the French

French Pantheon—" Let us treat his aſhes," ſaid he, " as Rome, had ſhe preſerved her liberty, would have treated thoſe of Cato and Marcus Brutus. The road all the way from the Pantheon to St. Menehould is at preſent covered with ſoldiers, and ſhining with bayonets and pikes.

" Figure to yourſelves," added he, " what an impreſſion it will make on the minds of our warriors, when they meet the funeral chariot of one who died for liberty! the ſight will *electriſe* their ſouls, inſpire them with courage, and fill their hearts with a deſire of vengeance."

However natural it was for a high-ſpirited officer to be driven to deſpair at a meaſure, the diſgrace of which, he thought, would reach himſelf, yet ſuicide is ſo contrary to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion that it might have been imagined the legiſlative aſſembly of a Chriſtian country (for they have not yet decreed the abolition of Chriſtianity)

tianity) would have had ſome difficulty in adopting this meaſure.—No ſuch thing.—A Roman ſenate could not have ſhewn leſs. They immediately decreed that the body of Beaurepaire ſhould be tranſported from St. Menehould, and interred in the Pantheon at Paris, with the following inſcription on his tomb, "Il aima mieux ſe donner la mort que de capituler avec les tyrans *."

It was ordained at the ſame time, which the moſt ſcrupulous Chriſtian in the aſſembly could have no objection to, that the penſion of Beaurepaire ſhould be continued to his widow and ſon during their lives.

The whole of this meaſure *ſeems* to be approved by the nation; thoſe who may be ſuppoſed to be offended at any part of it keep their ſentiments concealed, while thoſe who approve, proclaim theirs in the

* He choſe to put himſelf to death, rather than capitulate with tyrants, &c.

moſt

moſt oſtentatious manner. In one journal I find the following paragraph—Que nos regrets honorent le trepas de Beaurepaire—faiſons tomber devant la juſtice et la reconnoiſſance ce prejugè barbare, qui trop long temps appella foibleſſe et fureur le devoument courageux de Brutus et de Caton *.

In another it is ſaid, " La mort eſt une reſſource qu'il ne faut point oter à la vertu opprimée—En décrétant que Beaurepaire eſt digne de l'apothéoſe, l' Aſſemblée Nationale a non ſeulement acquittè une dette ſacrée, mais elle a plus fait encore pour les progrès de la moralé que tous les traités de nos beaux eſprits †."

If

Let our grief do honour to the death of Beaurepaire—let juſtice and gratitude overthrow that barbarous prejudice, which too long has given the epithets of weakneſs or madneſs to the noble deaths of Brutus and of Cato.

† Death is a reſource of which we ought not deprive oppreſſed

If this be true, nothing can give a ſtronger idea of the inefficacy of the writings of the beaux eſprits towards the progreſs of morality.

I am greatly deceived, however, if ſuicide is not the effect of *feeling* rather than *reaſoning*; and if the National Aſſembly by their decrees, and the beaux eſprits by their writings, can render men happier, they will more effectually check the practice of ſuicide than all that can be ſaid or written againſt it.

A French acquaintance of mine having pointed out the foregoing paſſages in the journals, ſaid with a triumphant air, "Vous autres Anglois croyez qu'a vous ſeuls appartenoit le droit de ſe tuer."—

oppreſſed virtue. In decreeing that Beaurepaire is worthy of apotheoſis, the National Aſſembly have not only diſcharged a ſacred debt, but it has done more for the advancement of morality than the works of our moſt brilliant writers.

Calais,

Calais, Sept. 17.

About the beginning of this month, two waggons full of arms deſtined for the army were paſſing through the town of Charleville, conducted by an officer of the artillery:—the populace, taking it into their heads that they were going to the enemy, arreſted the waggons, and murdered the officer.

The ſon of the poſtmaſter of St. Amand, on a ſuſpicion of having given intelligence to the enemy, was killed by the populace, and his body dragged through the ſtreets.

M. Bayeux, one of the magiſtrates of Calvados, being ſuſpected of a treaſonable correſpondence with the emigrants, was arreſted, tried, and acquitted; but the populace continuing to threaten him, he was detained in priſon with a view to his being ſet at liberty, when that could be done with ſafety:—the priſon was forced by the mob, and the magiſtrate immediately murdered.

All thoſe horrors, and others which could be enumerated, have happened within theſe few days; from which it might naturally be concluded, that it is dangerous to travel through the country of France, or walk in the ſtreets of any of the large towns. Extraordinary and unaccountable as it may ſeem, however, the truth certainly is, that travellers are quite ſafe on the high roads, and that there is no ſuch thing as ſtreet-robberies or houſebreaking in Paris: all the murders and outrages which are committed at preſent in this country are in the cauſe of the public, and not from private intereſt. This is no alleviation of the evil; on the contrary, it were much leſs grievous for the citizens to be expoſed to ſtreet-robberies and houſebreakings, which were puniſhed when diſcovered, than that a miſguided populace ſhould be tolerated in the exerciſe of juſtice upon whoever they conſider as ſtate criminals.—

I men-

I mention this merely as a ſingular fact, not a proof that France is in a ſtate of internal tranquillity; for what can be more miſerable for a nation, than that ſuch dreadful exceſſes can be committed with impunity?— Innocent people are murdered, and then we are told that the people meant well, but were miſtaken.—Many of the journals palliate their greateſt outrages, and ſay they proceeded from an exceſs of patriotiſm—None dare blame them; never was tyrant more feared and flattered than le peuple ſouverain at preſent.

Calais, Sept. 18.

I went this morning to the Convent of Dominican Nuns, and had a long converſation at the grate with one of them, an old lady of ſeventy years of age—She told me ſhe had been forty-three years in this convent; that during that long period ſhe had lived ſo free from care, and enjoyed

ſuch a degree of content, that ſhe had never wiſhed to change her ſituation.

As a proof of this aſſertion, ſhe ſaid that, " by a decree of the conſtituent aſſembly, when convents were thrown open, thoſe nuns who choſe to withdraw were allowed, and permiſſion was at the ſame time given to thoſe who were of a contrary opinion to remain in the convent—In conſequence of which ſhe and twenty-three other nuns had remained, with no other wiſh than to be permitted to end their lives there; but that now they were deprived of that hope, having lately received an order from the preſent National Aſſembly to leave the convent, which is deſtined for other purpoſes; they were to leave it accordingly within ten days. She complained of this as a great hardſhip on herſelf in particular, who had lived ſo long out of the world that ſhe had forgot how to live in it:—that eight of them had agreed to try to keep houſe in

Calais,

Calais, by joining their ſmall penſions, and living together; the reſt were to go to their reſpective relations—She ended by ſaying that ſhe had great reaſon to be thankful to God for the happineſs and tranquillity ſhe had enjoyed, particularly during the laſt forty-three years of her life, which, from her own obſervation while ſhe had lived in the world, and from all ſhe had learnt ſince, was far greater than the portion uſually allotted to mankind; and that although ſhe had no reaſon to expect ſo much felicity for the remainder of her life, ſhe had the comfort to think that the period of her ſuffering, if ſhe was to experience ſuffering, would be far ſhorter than the long courſe of calm enjoyment which, through the goodneſs of the Almighty, ſhe had poſſeſſed for ſo many years."

This nun, in ſpite of her age and long confinement, ſeems to enjoy good health and ſpirits; her deportment was eaſy, and her

manners polite:—though ſome part of her narrative will appear ſingular, it ſeemed to me devoid of affectation or hypocriſy, and to come from the heart.

When I took my leave of this lady, I went to the Convent of Benedictine Nuns, where a relation of my own had formerly been a penſioner—My calling at the Dominicans was through miſtake—When I was introduced to the parlour of the Benedictines, I ſent word that I wiſhed to ſpeak to a particular nun who I knew had been acquainted with my relation—A nun of a very genteel and intereſting appearance came to the grate.

I ſaw ſhe had been crying, though ſhe attempted to look cheerful: ſhe enquired affectionately about my relation, and ſpoke with great eſteem of another lady who had been in the convent at the ſame time. After a ſhort converſation, I aſked if they were in the ſame ſituation with the Dominican

nican nuns?—Hélas! oui, Monſieur *, ſhe replied, and burſt into tears—She was unable to ſpeak for ſome time; but when ſhe had recovered herſelf a little, ſhe ſaid, that the ſame option had been given to them, and that twenty-four of their number had alſo choſen to paſs the remainder of their lives in the convent; that they were happy in each other's ſociety, and in their being free from all cares, except the important one of their ſalvation—But now we are thrown back into a world which we had renounced, which we wiſh to forget, and for which we have no reliſh; *Ah, Monſieur! nous ſommes bien a plaindre.* She continued crying and ſobbing for ſome time; and then wiping her eyes, with a look of compoſure and reſignation ſhe ſaid, But it is the will of God, and it becomes us to ſubmit.

* Alas! yes, Sir.

Some readers will ſuſpect that both the old and the young nun on this occaſion affected ſorrow they did not feel:—all I can ſay is, that if they did, they are the beſt actreſſes I ever beheld, and the moſt diſintereſted; for, more appearance of natural grief I cannot conceive, and for what purpoſe it could be aſſumed I cannot divine.

I had hitherto conſidered the opening of convents as the giving liberty to the moſt unhappy of mortals, the miſerable victims of avarice and ſuperſtition. In general no doubt this is the caſe;—but my converſation with thoſe two nuns confirms what I have had frequent occaſion to remark, that when religious impreſſions are deeply engraven on the heart, they become a ſource of happineſs, which compenſates for many deprivations, and throw a conſtant conſoling ray of light into ſituations which, to the general eye of the world, ſeem quite hopeleſs

leſs and gloomy. Thoſe who, being neither ſeduced by taſte nor obliged by neceſſity to confine ſuch impreſſions to cells or convents, where they can be of little uſe to any *except to the poſſeſſor*, but carry them into ſociety with all the energy of active virtue, are certainly the happieſt of mankind.

By accounts received this day, it appears that the populace have at laſt taken to ſtreet robbery in Paris; it has ſeemed very ſurpriſing to me that, in the preſent weak ſtate of the executive government, they have abſtained from it ſo long. But their robberies, like their murders, are performed under the maſk of patriotiſm: they ſtop men in the ſtreets, and make them ſurrender their ſilver ſhoe-buckles and their watches—Women in the public walks have alſo had their rings and bracelets taken from them; but they have the aſſurances of the robbers that all thoſe commodities are to be applied to the uſe of the public on the preſent emergency.

Notwithſtanding all the pains which have been taken to provide the troops with arms, they are ſtill in want of muſkets. By a decree of the National Aſſembly, the muſkets are to be taken from the cannoneers, which is a very numerous and expert corps in France, and given to the volunteers who flock to the armies; ſome regiments of dragoons have likewiſe been deprived of theirs for the ſame purpoſe.

Accounts are induſtriouſly circulated, of advantages obtained by the French armies over the Pruſſians; nothing ſeems more improbable:—the Germans have, however, failed in their attempt on Thionville; yet, in ſpite of that failure, and the pretended advantages gained over them, they continue to advance.

Calais, Sept. 19.

Nothing can be more ſurpriſing than the ſecurity and confidence of this people in the preſent alarming criſis. I have ſeen letters

letters from Lille and Dunkirk, which deſcribe the inhabitants of thoſe towns in the ſame perſuaſion with thoſe of Calais—yet it is known that the Swiſs regiment of Chateauvieux has gone in a body to the enemy, and there is reaſon to believe that the Swiſs Cantons will declare war againſt France—Spain, it is thought, is in the ſame diſpoſition; and it is already announced in the National Aſſembly, that the German Empire is arming againſt them. "Il ne faut pas ſe le diſſimuler," ſaid Merlin de Thionville in the Aſſembly, "nous avons à combattre tous les tyrans du monde, et ils ne ſont pas à craindre pour un peuple libre et arme: il faut rompre définitivement avec eux. Je demande le rappel de tous les Miniſtres de France*." Before he made ſo

* It is not to be denied that we have to fight againſt all the tyrants in the world, and they are not to be feared by a free and armed people—Let us break with them

ſo raſh a propoſal, he ſhould have proved that the people were armed, and, what is ſtill more to be doubted, that they are free; but this ſame Merlin is not conſidered as ſo great a conjurer as his nameſake was—the Aſſembly, therefore, did not follow his advice.

But what confirms me in my opinion that the affairs of this country are now in a more deſperate ſtate than ever, is, that it is complained of in the National Aſſembly, by a deputation from the municipality of Colombe, near Paris, that certain perſons unknown, but who pretend to be members of the common council of Paris, and of the National Aſſembly itſelf, break open doors, enter houſes, and take away what they pleaſe, and haraſs the inhabitants of the town and adjacent villages in various ways, on pretext of the public ſervice.

The miniſter Roland alſo complains of

them entirely—I demand that all the Miniſters of France at foreign courts be recalled.

the

the anarchy which reigns in Paris, and which all his efforts cannot ſubdue.

Petion the Mayor, who ſeems willing to ſtate things in the moſt favourable light, ſays, in a letter to the Aſſembly, that the outrages committed in the open ſtreets, by robbing the citizens of their watches and rings, are put an end to: and adds, "Paris, au ſurplus, eſt tranquille; tout en renfermant dans ſon ſein *des élemens très inflammable* *."

Maſuyer expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "Si l'Aſſemblée Nationale ne prend pas une meſure vigoureuſe, on ne peut plus reſter à Paris: on en fait un lieu plus dangereux, cent fois, que les forêts les plus infeſtées de brigands †, &c."

* Paris is calm for the preſent, but contains within her circuit much inflammable matter.

† If the National Aſſembly does not adopt ſome vigorous meaſure, it will be impoſſible to remain any longer at Paris: it is become a reſidence a hundred times more dangerous than the foreſt the moſt haraſſed with robbers.

And

And Vergniaud, with that affecting eloquence which he has at his command, after mentioning the unwillingneſs which the citizens of Paris ſhew to work in the intrenchments forming round the city, adds, " Quelle peut être la cauſe de cette inertie des meilleurs citoyens? Ah, meſſieurs, ne nous diſſimulons pas, ces haines particulières, ces délations infames, ces arreſtations arbitraires, ces cris de proſcription, ces complots, ces atteintes portées ſur les individus, cette violation des propriétés, cet oubli des loix, ces agitations inquiétantes ont répandu la conſternation et l'effroi.

" L'homme vertueux ſe cache, il fuit avec horreur ces ſcènes de ſang, et il faut bien qu'il ſe cache l'homme vertueux, quand le crime triomphe, il n'en a pas l'horrible ſentiment, il ſe tait, il s'éloigne, il attend pour reparaitre des temps plus heureux.

" Les temps de revolution produiſent ces hommes à la fois hypocrites et féroces, comme

comme les pores de la terre produiſent des inſectes malfaiſans après la tempête. Aujourd'hui ces pervers ariſtocratiſent la vertu même pour la fouler impunément aux pieds. Ils démocratiſent le crime pour avoir le droit de le commettre : et c'eſt ainſi qu'ils deſhonnorent la plus belle des cauſes, celle du peuple, et de la liberté.

" O citoyens ! vous voyez ma profonde émotion ; citoyens arrachez le maſque à ces pervers qui n'ont, pour vous tromper et vous perdre, que la baſſeſſe de leur moyens et l'audace de leurs prétentions. Citoyens, vous les reconnoitrez facilement ; lorſque l'ennemi s'avance, celui qui vous invite a égorger des femmes et des hommes déſarmés, celui-la vous a trahit et vous perd ; cet autre qui vous invite à la paix entre vous, qui vous crie de marcher ſur les Pruſſiens : eh, bien ! celui la eſt votre ami. Repouſſez donc les traitres qui vous agitent et vous diviſent ; faites ceſſer les déſordres,

les

les proſcriptions, et vous verrez une foule de défenſeurs ſe réunir a vous, travailler et combattre pour vous.

" J'entends dire, mais nos armées peuvent éprouver des revers : et alors, les Pruſſiens viendront-ils a Paris ? Non, ils n'y viendront pas, non, ſi les citoyens ſe réuniſſent, et ſi Paris ſe met en état de défenſe : car alors ils ſeroient accablés ſous le débris de l'armée qu'ils auroient vaincue, comme Samſon ſous le Temple qu'il avoit renverſé *."

This

* What can be the cauſe of this unwillingneſs among the beſt citizens ? Ah ! Gentlemen, there is no concealing it ; thoſe hatreds, thoſe infamous accusations, thoſe arbitrary arreſts, thoſe rumours of proſcriptions, of plots ; thoſe perſonal attacks, thoſe violations of property, this contempt of the laws, all thoſe diſtreſſing circumſtances have ſpread conſternation and terror.

The virtuous man hides himſelf ; he flies with horror from thoſe ſcenes of blood :—good reaſon have the virtuous to hide themſelves when the wicked triumph.

They

This is unqueſtionably a very fine piece of eloquence; but what effect can eloquence have on the hearts of men capable of robbery

They are ſilent, they retire, and wait for happier times before they appear again.

Times of revolution produce men who are at once hypocritical and ferocious, as, after tempeſts, the pores of the earth ſend forth deſtructive inſects.

Thoſe perverſe men accuſe virtue itſelf of ariſtocracy, that they may trample upon it with impunity; and adorn crimes with the name of democracy, that they may be allowed to commit them: thus they diſgrace the nobleſt of all cauſes, thoſe of the people, and of liberty.

O my fellow-citizens, you ſee how deeply I am affected! Citizens, tear the maſk from thoſe wretches who have nothing to deceive you with, but the moſt deſpicable means, and the moſt impudent pretenſions.

Citizens, you may eaſily diſcover them.—He who, when the enemy advances, excites you to ſlaughter women and unarmed men, it is he who betrays and ruins you. That other, who perſuades you to peace among yourſelves, and to march againſt the Pruſſians, he is your friend.

Reject then the traitors who agitate and divide you.

bery and murder? they muſt be ſubdued by other weapons.

Calais, Sept. 20.

There is great reaſon to believe that anarchy and ſome new event of horror will ſoon take place at Paris; our accounts received this day inform us, that the ſame manœuvres are going on at preſent that were performed previous to the ſecond of September. News are induſtriouſly ſpread one day, that Dumourier has gained a victory; and the following day it is circulated, with equal induſtry, that he is defeated; and it is thought that this is done by emiſ-

Put an end to diſorder and proſcription, and you will immediately behold a number of defenders, who will unite their efforts, and fight for you.

But it is ſaid, our armies may be repulſed, and then the Pruſſians will come to Paris.—No, they cannot come if the citizens unite, and if Paris is put in a ſtate of defence, becauſe they will be cruſhed by the remains of the army they defeated, as Samſon was by the temple he overthrew.

ſaries

ſaries of the enemy, that the people, while their minds are agitated, may fall on ſome deſtructive meaſure now, as they did then. Placarts have been ſtuck on the walls, inviting the populace to exterminate the four hundred members of the National Aſſembly who voted againſt accuſing M. la Fayette. At one of the ſections, the inequality of fortune was declaimed againſt, and an agrarian law propoſed.

This was to have been expected from the inſtant that the word *Egalité* was brought forward in the way it has lately been—Equal laws, and impartial juſtice, may have been originally meant; but equal wealth, it was natural to expect, would be the explanation of the people, particularly ſuch as have nothing.

The Duke of Orleans is choſen one of the deputies for the department of Paris: he was propoſed, according to our accounts, by the ſame people who propoſed Marat;

but the name of Orleans, as being nearly allied to the crown, gave offence to the electors; he, therefore, desired the general council of the commune of Paris to give him another name, more agreeable to the ears of his fellow-citizens. In consequence of this request, the council have signified to him that, as a reward for that zeal for liberty which he had manifested from the commencement of the revolution, and even before that period, and for his attachment to the cause of the people ever since, they would adorn him with the beautiful name of Equality (du beau nom d'Egalité.)

Considering the immense fortune of Monsieur Egalité, and the disproportion it bears to what would fall to his share in case the patriots who push the agrarian law should carry their point, one can hardly think that this new name is very agreeable to him. His former name gave offence because too near to the crown; his present beautiful new name

name may give offence, becauſe it is at too great a diſtance from the immenſity of his wealth.

All the patriotiſm he has diſplayed before or ſince the revolution, however pure and free from reſentment or ſelfiſh motives, may not ſecure him from that ingratitude which heroes and ſtateſmen ſo often experience.

Were not all the ſervices rendered to their country by Miltiades, Ariſtides, Camillus, and Scipio, repaid with ingratitude? What then can Monſieur Egalité expect? The preſent race of Pariſians differ in ſome reſpects, it is true, from the ancient Greeks and Romans; they may, however, reſemble them in ingratitude: but, even in that caſe, they cannot deprive him of the *teſtimony of his conſcience.*

Rolland, the miniſter, has informed the Aſſembly that, on the night of the ſixteenth of this month, the Garde-Meuble, where the crown-jewels are kept, was broke open,

and that diamonds and other valuable things had been carried away.

The Pruſſian army, now on the road to Paris, may probably conceive that this loſs falls on them, rather than any body elſe.

Calais, Sept. 21.

The French and German armies have already met—they have had ſome partial ſhocks; the ſuperiority of the latter appears on every occaſion, as every body indeed foreſaw, particularly thoſe who have been bred to the military profeſſion, many of whom I have heard aſſert, before I came to France, that twenty or twenty-five thouſand of the diſciplined troops of Pruſſia, would drive all the noiſy rabble of national guards before them like a flock of ſheep, and that they could meet with no ſerious oppoſition except from fortified towns. I was always unwilling to believe, that ſeverity of diſcipline gave a greater probability of victory than all the enthuſiaſm which could ſpring from

from the beſt of cauſes: it is diſagreeable to imagine, that the cane of the ſerjeant can make men fight better than the idea of defending all that is dear in life. From what has happened hitherto in this campaign againſt France, that propoſition, diſagreeable as it is, will be confirmed. For what have the French done with all their enthuſiaſm? The only towns on their frontiers that have been ſeriouſly attacked are taken; their armies continue to retire before the enemy; General Dumouricr himſelf, in a letter to M. Servan, the miniſter of the war department, ſays, that, in an attack on his rear, ten thouſand men had run away ſhamefully from fifteen hundred of the enemy—What is to be expected from ſuch an army?

Every thing, in the mean time, ſeems in a dreadful ſtate at Paris. M. Rolland has made ſome very earneſt repreſentations of the diſorders which exiſt, to the National Aſſembly; in one, he ſays, that five hun-

dred citizens have been arreſted by orders of the committee of the municipality, and that the priſons will ſoon be as full as they were before the ſecond of September; in conſequence of which, Vergniaud declaims, and the Aſſembly decree; but the remedies pointed out are not applied, the decrees are not obeyed, the executive power ſeems ſtill to be in the hands of committees choſen from the community of Paris, which are thought to be directed by men of atrocious characters, ſuſpected of being the authors of the maſſacres. In the midſt of this awful ſcene of confuſion, the Aſſembly ſpend many hours in regulating the various articles of the propoſed decree reſpecting divorce.

At a time when two frontier towns are taken, their armies repulſed, and the enemy advancing—when their fellow-citizens are thrown into priſon in the moſt arbitrary manner, and they themſelves threatened

by

by aſſaſſins; for men, at ſuch a moment, to ſhew as much anxiety to get rid of their wives, as of all the other evils put together, gives a ſtrong idea of the miſery which thoſe poor men muſt have endured in their married ſtate.

A courier arrived laſt night from the National Aſſembly, requiring ten thouſand men more from this department, Du Pas-de-Calais: this occaſions a good deal of uneaſineſs—the town of Calais will be under ſome difficulty to furniſh its quota.

It has rained inceſſantly for ſome days; if the ſame has been the caſe where the Duke of Brunſwick's army is, it muſt greatly impede his progreſs, and diſtreſs the ſoldiery.

As I ſtood for ſhelter from the rain, under the piazza of the town-houſe, I obſerved two women who had juſt obtained paſſports for England, one was in the character of maid to the other; ſhe who was

dreſſed

dreſſed as the maid, is a woman of rank; I had ſeen her frequently, when at Paris, in her real quality: they ſeemed impatient to get away, and croſſed the ſquare in the midſt of the rain to go to the packet-boat.—Her impatience proceeded partly, I ſuppoſe, from uneaſineſs at being recogniſed, though I turned my face from her the moment I ſaw her, for fear of giving that ſuſpicion. I am happy to think they have got away without farther trouble. This lady, however, muſt have ſtrong reaſons for quitting France at preſent, becauſe, by the law againſt emigrants, which, by an unjuſt and cruel extenſion, reaches to females, her whole fortune will be forfeited.

A number of poor prieſts have fled to this place, and are ſkulking in different houſes, till ſuch time as they can find opportunities to croſs over to Dover.

I know one pious and charitable lady, who has been very ſerviceable to ſeveral,

and

and conceals and entertains them till they can be conveyed away with ſafety.

September 22.

I have heard and read of many perſecutions which were excited by prieſts in all countries: the only perſecution I ever was witneſs to, is that which exiſts at preſent againſt them in this country, and a moſt ſevere one it is.

The diſlike which ſome people are fond of expreſſing againſt particular claſſes of men, which, from their nature, muſt comprehend men of all characters, like that which others expreſs to the natives of particular countries, always proceeds from a childiſh, illiberal, and uncandid turn of mind.

The clergy of France have been treated with cruelty ſince the beginning of the revolution: that the church required a radical reform, with regard not only to the extent of her poſſeſſions, but alſo the manner

in

in which they were diſtributed, will be pretty generally allowed: it was, perhaps, expedient that many of the great benefices ſhould be applied to the public uſe as they became vacant; but what men have obtained the poſſeſſion of by the exiſting laws of their country, they cannot juſtly be deprived of by any future law; and the levity with which the hardſhips put on the clergy of France is ſpoken of, by many of the laity of this country, is very diſguſting.

But the indifference with which men look on acts of oppreſſion to which they themſelves are not expoſed, and the indignation they expreſs againſt every act of the ſame nature to which themſelves are liable, does not belong excluſively to men of particular profeſſions or countries, it is, I fear, in human nature.

I have heard people who profeſſed much public ſpirit, and uncommon affection for their country, declaim on the utility of applying

plying two-thirds of the church livings in England to the extinction of the national debt. When the hardſhips to which this project would ſubject the clergy, was ſtated as a ſlight objection, they declared it no objection at all, but rather a circumſtance in favour of the project, becauſe it would be a juſt puniſhment for their ſelfiſhneſs, and they would ſtill have too much left for men of moderate deſires. But when a ſmall reduction of the legal intereſt of money was hinted, as a means which would alſo facilitate the payment of a debt which ſeemed to lie ſo heavy on their minds, thoſe patriots, whoſe money was inveſted in the funds, exclaimed againſt ſuch an idea as a flagrant breach of public faith, and the moſt horrid injuſtice.

Thoſe who, taking advantage of a particular tide of prejudice, direct its current againſt the clergy, under the pretext that prieſts have been perſecutors, would themſelves, in thoſe days of perſecution, have been

been the greateſt of all perſecutors, had they been prieſts.

The ſeverity of ſome late decrees againſt thoſe of the French clergy who refrain from taking the oaths, ſeems to me highly unjuſtifiable. How can any candid mind feel reſentment againſt men for ſacrificing their intereſt, their eſtabliſhment in life, from a ſcruple of conſcience? Taking it in the worſt light, it can only be conſtrued into weakneſs.

Yet theſe conſcientious, or ſimple men, have been deprived of their livings, baniſhed their country, and many of them maſſacred as they were going into baniſhment.

But many of the clergy, who refuſe to take the oaths, are accuſed of exciting the people to inſurrection againſt the new government, and to inſult the clergy who have taken them. Let thoſe againſt which this is proved be puniſhed according to law; but let not the innocent be puniſhed in a

manner which would be barbarous, if even inflicted on the guilty.

Nothing has expoſed the King to ſo much ſuſpicion and obloquy, as his chooſing his chaplain and confeſſor from among thoſe prieſts who refuſe to take the oaths: none but of this claſs were ſeen at court, or admitted into the Tuileries for ſome time before the 10th of Auguſt, which was thought a proof of his Majeſty's approbation of their principles and conduct; and, in ſpite of his having himſelf accepted and ſworn to the conſtitution, this partiality to the prieſts who had done neither, was repreſented by his enemies as an evidence that in his heart he hated the conſtitution, had a ſecret correſpondence with his brothers, and was doing every thing he durſt venture to favour the deſigns of the enemies of France.

There is abſurdity, however, as well as want of charity in this interpretation; for if the King is ſo devoid of principle as to engage

gage in a plot to betray his country, and overturn the conſtitution to which he has ſworn to be faithful, how ſhould he be ſo ſcrupulous as to refuſe to employ thoſe prieſts who could render him moſt popular, and, of courſe, enable him the better to carry on the plot?

To ſuppoſe he was engaged in ſuch a conſpiracy, is ſuppoſing him a man of neither principle nor piety: to accuſe him of employing prieſts whom his conſcience approved, in preference to thoſe whom policy pointed out, is admitting that he poſſeſſes both.

From all I have learnt of Lewis the Sixteenth, he is a man of integrity, devoid of ambition, but with an uncommon ſhare of indolence; whoſe diſpoſition is better than his underſtanding, and his underſtanding ſuperior to his conduct; whoſe inclinations are naturally benevolent; whoſe opinions are generally juſt, but whoſe actions are

ſometimes

ſometimes improper, becauſe they are influenced by thoſe who poſſeſs leſs rectitude than himſelf.

The preference he gives to prieſts who refuſe to take the oaths ſeems to injure him as much in the minds of the popular leaders, as that which Charles the Firſt gave to the clergy of the church of England injured him in the minds of the preſbyterians and independents. Charles has even been conſidered as a martyr to the church of England. The inviolability which the conſtitution gives to Lewis will ſecure him from the ſame fate, whatever degree of rancour his enemies may bear him.

September 23.

Orders came a few days ſince from M. Servan, the war miniſter, for one thouſand nine hundred muſkets to be carried from St. Omer to Reims for the uſe of the volunteers going to Dumourier's army, many of whom advance no farther than the latter

town for want of arms. As this convoy paſſed through the town of St. Quintin, it was ſtopped by three battalions of national volunteers; *they* alſo were in want of muſkets, which, however, were ready for them at the department of the north, to which thoſe battalions were marching. Without liſtening to this aſſurance, or any thing elſe that was ſaid, they ſeized the arms of the convoy; many were broken in the tumult, and the troops at Reims diſappointed.

General Dumourier writes to the war miniſter, that, having thought proper to change his ſituation, his army was attacked by the enemy during his march; that a panic had ſeized the rear of his army; that ſome cowardly or treacherous ſoldiers had called out, "Sauve qui peut, nous ſommes trahis*!" that ten thouſand men had fled from one thouſand five hundred of the enemy; and that if thoſe one thouſand

* Let thoſe ſave themſelves who can, we are all betrayed.

five

ſive hundred had puſhed on with vigour, the whole army might have been thrown into confuſion: but this not having been done, his army had recovered their ſpirits, and were now in a good ſituation. He writes in a ſtyle of the greateſt confidence, that he expects to form a junction with Kellerman and Bournonville very ſoon, and has not the leaſt doubt of repulſing the enemy.

It may be highly proper in a General to write in this manner to the laſt; but I can hardly think that he has the confidence he pretends. What dependance can be had on men who rob their own convoys, and run away at the ſight of the enemy? Theſe are the characteriſtics of a mob, not of ſoldiers. I do not know what impreſſion this letter made on the National Aſſembly, but the inhabitants of this place are fully perſuaded that Dumourier will be as good as his word; not that they believe their General to be ſuperior in military ſkill to the Duke of

Brunſwick, their expectations are founded on their conviction of the ſuperior valour of the French over that of the Germans, or any other people; and ſhould they hear that Dumourier is beaten, and his army diſperſed, I am perſuaded they will impute it to him, or to the mercenaries in the pay of France, but not to want of ſpirit in the national troops.

The misfortunes of war are apt to be laid to the charge of the General by the populace of every country, who are all convinced that their countrymen are ſuperior to their neighbours in the moſt eſſential part of a ſoldier's character; and therefore, when the armies receive a ſevere check, or are defeated, they immediately ſuſpect the General of treachery. The French, poſſeſſing more ſenſibility, and perhaps more levity, than ſome of their neighbours, are, of courſe, more ſubject to thoſe ſuſpicions; though their neareſt neighbour, who is generally believed to be of a far more cold and

phlegmatic

phlegmatic temperament, has given dreadful proofs of being ſuſceptible of the ſame unjuſt way of thinking, and of all the exceſſes which it is apt to produce *.

National pride is leſs offended when the loſs of battles is imputed to the treachery of a few, or indeed to any cauſe whatever, rather than to an inferiority of ſpirit or courage in the troops. Courage is a quality which the inhabitants of every country in the world, ſince the beginning of the world, have claimed to themſelves in a ſupreme degree.

The French have always thought themſelves ſuperior to any nation in Europe, in military virtue; that they even think themſelves a match for ſeveral combined againſt them, they afford a ſtrong proof at preſent.

Nec pluribus impar, was conſidered as a rodomontade when adopted as a motto,

* The maſſacre of the De Witts's by the Dutch.

by Louis XIV.—it is now conſidered as a truth by the generality of the French nation.

I have heard Scotchmen aſſert, that the entire conqueſt of France by the Engliſh, in the reign of Henry V. was prevented *ſolely* by a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, commanded by their countryman the Earl of Buchan, Conſtable of France: and others endeavour to prove, that the victories of Guſtavus Adolphus were chiefly owing to about the ſame number of Scots who ſerved in his army. The common people of Scotland, at this day, would think any man deprived of his reaſon, who would for a moment imagine that an army of any nation, commanded by any General that ever lived, could have withſtood half the number of their countrymen led by Sir William Wallace.

The Engliſh, who laugh at their neighbours for this national partiality, are ſuſpected

pected of having their full ſhare of it, and of not always confining it to the *human* inhabitants of their country.

A good many years ago, returning from Paris to London, I met with a certain Engliſhman at Calais, who had been exhibiting in ſome of the towns of Flanders and the French provinces with a ſwarm of bees, which he pretended to have under his command:—among other manœuvres, he ſaid, he could make two ſwarms of theſe animals engage in battle with each other—an Engliſh ſwarm, for example, with a French.

And pray, ſaid a Frenchman who was preſent, can you make which ſide you pleaſe victorious?

To which the other very gravely replied, that he could not give the victory to the French unleſs they were a little more than double the number of the Engliſh; becauſe

an Engliſh bee was *preciſely* equal to two French ones.

When we came to Dover, the Frenchman, who was going to London, and had taken his paſſage in the ſame packet-boat with me, put me in mind, a little before we parted, of the bee-man's declaration, which he had not been able to digeſt, and aſked if I really believed that there was ſuch a difference between French and Engliſh bees.

Till that inſtant I had not remarked that the Frenchman was hurt; I had taken it for granted that he had ſeen the bee-man's aſſertion in the ſame light that I did.

Being now convinced of my error, I anſwered coldly, that perhaps the bee-man had gone too far in aſſerting that one Engliſh bee was equal to two French ones; but that I was inclined to believe that two Engliſh bees would be a pretty good match for three French.

Ah,

Ah, Monſieur! ſaid the Frenchman complaiſantly. cela peut-être.

But, whatever they may think of the proweſs of their bees, a very ſtrong prejudice has always prevailed in every country in favour of the perſonal valour and military virtues of their countrymen. They may grant that other countries have a ſuperiority in philoſophy, in divinity, in the fine arts, in all the arts of peace—in all the arts which tend to render men happy, but never in that which ſpreads devaſtation and miſery, never in that art which gives the power of ſubduing and domineering.

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt cauſas melius: cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, et ſurgentia ſidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes; paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis, et debellare ſuperbos.

September 24.

A gentleman of character, on whoſe veracity I have reliance, informed me that he was at Verſailles on the day that the maſſacre of the priſoners from Orleans happened: he had left Paris that morning, and, on his arrival at Verſailles, heard that the priſoners were expected; but had no idea when he ſet out; nor did he obſerve any thing after he arrived at Verſailles, which gave him a ſuſpicion of ſuch an event: he went and walked a conſiderable time in the gardens; during this interval the priſoners arrived, and that moſt atrocious ſcene of bloodſhed was performed. On his return from the gardens, he ſaw the mangled bodies of 52 men lying in a ſtreet on the left hand as you go to the chateau from Paris!—Some of the lower ſort of the inhabitants of Verſailles were looking on; the reſt, ſtruck with terror, were ſhut up in their ſhops and houſes.

houſes. The body of the Duke of Briſſac was pointed out—the head and one of the hands was cut off!—a man ſtood near ſmoking tobacco, with his ſword drawn, and a human hand ſtuck on its point!—another fellow walked careleſsly among the bodies with the entire arm of another of the priſoners fixed to the point of his ſword! This gentleman afterwards ſaw a waggon arrive, into which was thrown as many of the ſlaughtered bodies, as the horſes could draw!—A boy of about fourteen years of age was within the waggon, aſſiſting to receive the bodies as they were put in, and packing them in the moſt convenient manner, with an air of as much indifference as if they had been ſo many parcels of goods! One of the wretches who threw in the bodies, and who probably had aſſiſted in the maſſacre, ſaid to the ſpectators, in praiſe of the boy's activity, "Voyez ce petit bon homme, comme il eſt hardi."

The aſſaſſins of the priſoners were a party who had come from Paris on the preceding evening, moſt of them in poſt-chaiſes, for that purpoſe, and who attacked thoſe unhappy men while they remained in the ſtreet waiting till the gate of the priſon which was prepared for their reception ſhould be opened.

The circumſtances of thoſe aſſaſſins having come from Paris the night before, and moſt of them in poſt-chaiſes, or in the uſual carriages which go to Verſailles, are ſtrong preſumptions, that they were a detachment from the bloody band who performed the executions in the priſons, and that theſe executions by no means proceeded from the emotions of rage and deſpair in the people, but from a pre-determined plan, formed by a ſet of men who have uſurped a great deal of power of late, which they wiſh to increaſe, and who think this dreadful act was neceſſary for their own

ſafety.

ſafety.—The detachment which had guarded the priſoners from Orleans, ſtood ſhameful and paſſive ſpectators of the maſſacre.

The miſerable priſoners being all unarmed, and ſome of them fettered, could do nothing in their own defence: they were moſt of them ſtabbed—and a few, who attempted reſiſtance, were cut down with ſabres.

There never was a more barbarous and daſtardly action performed in the face of the ſun.—Gracious Heaven! were thoſe barbarities, which would diſgrace ſavages, committed by Frenchmen! by that lively and ingenious people, whoſe writings are ſo much admired, whoſe ſociety has been ſo much courted, and whoſe manners have been ſo much imitated by all the neighbouring nations?—This atrocious deed, executed in the ſtreets of Verſailles, and the horrors committed in the priſons of Paris, will fix indelible ſtains on the character

of

of the French nation. It is ſaid, thoſe barbarities revolted the hearts of many of the citizens of Paris and Verſailles, as much as they could thoſe of the inhabitants of London or Windſor. It is alſo ſaid, that thoſe maſſacres were not committed by the inhabitants of Paris or Verſailles, but by a ſet of hired aſſaſſins! — But who hired thoſe aſſaſſins? Who remained in ſhameful ſtupor and daſtardly inactivity while their laws were inſulted, their priſons were violated, and their fellow-citizens butchered in the open ſtreets? I do not believe, that from the wickedeſt gangs of highwaymen, houſe-breakers, and pick-pockets, that infeſt London and the neighbourhood, men could be ſelected who could be bribed to murder, in cold blood, ſuch a number of their countrymen!—and if they could, I am convinced that no degree of popular deluſion they are capable of, no pretext, no motive whatever, could have made the inhabitants

of

of London or Windſor, or of any town of Great Britain, ſuffer ſuch dreadful executions to be performed within their walls.

September 25.

General Dumourier has ordered fifty of the moſt guilty of thoſe who, by their cowardly or treacherous cries, ſpread confuſion through his troops on their retreat from his camp at Grand Prè, to be ſtript of their uniform, pinioned, and in this diſgraceful condition carried to Paris, and delivered to the ſection to which they belong.

He has publiſhed a proclamation or addreſs to the ſoldiers, the import of which is to encourage them, and to give them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of victory, provided they have confidence in their officers, and ſhut their ears againſt the voice of traitors! He ends this addreſs with theſe words—"Camarades, ſi on ſe réunit ſous mes étendards avec la confiance que des enfans doivent

doivent avoir en leur père et non autrement, je reponds de ces rois du nord, de ces alteſſes ſéréniſſimes, de ces cordons de toutes les couleurs, de ces paladins François, qui ſe qualifient encore des vains noms que nous leur avons enlevés: ils iront à Paris, puiſqu'ils le déſirent; ils iront en triomphe, mais ce ſera à notre ſuite*."

He writes to M. Servan, that he is now certain of effecting a junction with the Generals Kellerman and Bournonville; and adds, "After having been able to keep the numerous armies of the Germans and French emigrants in check, for ſo long a time,

* Fellow-ſoldiers, if you will re-unite under my ſtandard with that confidence which children ought to have in their father, I will be anſwerable for thoſe kings of the north, for thoſe high mightineſſes with their ribbons of all ſort of colours; for thoſe French knight-errants, who ſtill aſſume thoſe empty titles which we ſtript them of: they ſhall go to Paris! — yes, no doubt they ſhall go, but it ſhall be as our priſoners.

with a handful of men, you may reſt aſſured that there is nothing to be feared, now that my army is equal to theirs."

This is ſpeaking in ſo very confident a ſtrain, that I ſhould, however, take it all for rodomontade, were it not for his having honeſtly and fairly acknowledged the flight and ill behaviour of part of his army on the march: which, to be ſure, is like a man determined to declare the truth; for nothing could be more mortifying to the army, to the Aſſembly, and to the French in general. He is, beſide, univerſally ſpoken of as a man of great acuteneſs and activity. But, after all, it is impoſſible to imagine that the Duke of Brunſwick, a general of the firſt reputation of the age, with a numerous army of the beſt diſciplined troops in Europe, can be baffled by an army of raw ſoldiers, led by one who, with all his natural quickneſs, is without much military experience: at all events, the affair muſt

be decided ſoon, the armies are within ſight of each other; and while the Pruſſians threaten Chalons and Rheims, the Auſtrians haraſs the country near Lille, and ſome of their light cavalry have advanced within a very little of the gates of Douay. It is thought that they will attempt the ſiege, or at leaſt the blockade, of the former. We hear, however, that the Convention is aſſembled; but I own I ſtill think it will not ſit long at Paris. What renders this conjecture the more probable, and may be added to the extraordinary circumſtances above enumerated, is, that Marat is ſtill permitted to publiſh his inflammatory papers, the intention of which evidently is to excite new maſſacres! In one which was paſted on the walls of Paris, on the 19th, he accuſes many of the deputies choſen for the Convention of ariſtocratical and antirevolutional principles: he denounces the generals who command the armies as traitors;

and

and almoſt all the preſent miniſters, particularly Roland, he paints as the enemies of freedom! Danton, the preſent miniſter of juſtice, is the only one of the ſix who is not included in his proſcription; and this omiſſion is, in the minds of men of ſenſe and integrity, as prejudicial to Danton, as the peculiar rancour he ſhews againſt Roland is honourable to the latter.

September 26.

The deputies to the National Aſſembly, to the number of 371, met on the 21ſt, in a hall of the Tuileries: they choſe Petion for preſident, and Condorcet, Briſſot, Vergniaud, Rabaud, La Source, and Camus, for ſecretaries, and adjourned till the following day; when being again aſſembled in the ſame hall, they ſent a deputation of twelve of their members to inform the National Aſſembly that the Convention was conſtituted, and about to begin the exerciſe of the powers

which had been placed in their hands by the people of France.

The National Aſſembly immediately decreed, that their preſident M. François de Neufchateau, at the head of a deputation of their members, ſhould wait on the Convention, and conduct them to the hall of the Feuillans. The preſident then declared the *National Aſſembly* diſſolved, and the members attended him in a body to the Tuileries, where M. François pronounced a congratulatory diſcourſe, in which he informed the Convention, "That the National Aſſembly being diſſolved, their firſt act as citizens would be to ſerve as a guard to the Convention, that they might give an example to every individual, of that reſpect which they owed to the repreſentatives of the nation: that, in chooſing them as members of this Convention, the French people had conſecrated the *extraordinary means* which they had been obliged to uſe for the

preſervation of twenty-four millions of people, from the fatal effects of the perfidy of one man: that the object of their meeting was, to eſtabliſh a conſtitution on the baſis of freedom and equality; to give to the nation liberty, laws, and peace: liberty, without which the French diſdained to live; laws, the firmeſt foundation of liberty; and peace, the ſole end and object of war."

The Convention then walked from the Tuileries to the hall of the Feuillans, conducted by the members of the National Aſſembly, through a lane formed by an immenſe multitude of people, a body of the national guards being under arms, the drums beating and trumpets ſounding during the proceſſion. The Convention having taken poſſeſſion of the hall, Manuel propoſed that the preſident of the Conventional Aſſembly ſhould be lodged in the Tuileries; that, as often as he appeared in

public, he ſhould be preceded by guards; and that every day, when he opened the Aſſembly, all the members ſhould riſe; obſerving, at the ſame time, that thoſe marks of diſtinction would tend to render the Aſſembly more reſpectable in the eyes of the French nation, as well as of ſtrangers: and he mentioned the ſtory of Cyneas, the ambaſſador of Pyrrhus, who, on being introduced into the Roman ſenate, ſaid, they appeared like an aſſembly of kings.

Whether being compared to kings diſguſted them, I know not; but this propoſal was warmly oppoſed by ſeveral members, and particularly by Chabot, who ſaid that ſuch external pomp was deſpicable in itſelf, and improper for a popular government, in which the deputies ſhould have no other dignity than that of being mixed and confounded with the ſans-culottes who had elected them as their repreſentatives. This Chabot was formerly a capuchin, and

diſplays

diſplays in his dreſs and perſon that partiality for dirt which diſtinguiſhes the monks of that order. He is now the rival of Marat, as an apoſtle of Liberty; they ſeem congenial in their taſtes in dreſs, as well as politics: nature has not been partial to either in point of looks; few men, therefore, could be more excuſable in endeavouring to conceal her unkindneſs by a few of the ornaments of art; yet no two republicans of Greece or Rome ever ſhewed more contempt for any auxiliary of that ſort. Marat ſtands in much more need of it than Chabot, but he uſes it leſs—there appears ſomething even *recherché* in the ſhabbineſs of Marat; he ſeems to think it a proof of patriotiſm, for in one of his late placarts againſt Petion, amongſt other crimes he accuſes him of being trop bien friſé. Marat is a little man, of a cadaverous complexion, and a countenance exceedingly expreſſive of his diſpoſition: to a painter of maſſacres, Marat's head would be ineſtima-

ble. Such heads are rare in this country, yet they are ſometimes to be met with at the Old Bailey. The only artifice he uſes in favour of his looks, is that of wearing a round hat, ſo far pulled down before as to hide a great part of his countenance.

I am convinced that Manuel's motion, or ſomething of the ſame nature, would be of ſervice. In decreeing guards and other marks of dignity to the preſident of the Convention, they would render both him and the other members more reſpected by the people; it would diſpoſe them more to obedience and to order, without injuring the cauſe of liberty. What danger can there ariſe from power or dignity, which is entruſted only for fifteen days in the hands of the ſame man?

The preſent French reformers are in danger of falling into the ſame error with Jack in the Tale of a Tub, who tore his coat in pieces through zeal to remove the lace [illegible] like

like manner, they may injure the eſſential parts of government, by precipitately deſtroying the ornamental.

Danton is a man of too much importance to be left out of the Convention on any account; in conformity with the principle that no one citizen ſhould poſſeſs two offices under the government; he ſent his reſignation of the office of miniſter of juſtice, and retained that of member of the Convention. He was the firſt who propoſed that the conſtitution which they were about to form ſhould be preſented to the nation, and ſhould not have force till it was accepted by the majority of the people of France, united in primary aſſemblies.

This and another propoſal of his were decreed, namely, that property and perſons were under the ſafeguard of the nation.

It was next decreed, that all laws not abrogated, and all powers not ſuſpended, ſhould continue in force, and that the public

lic contributions ſhould be levied as heretofore.

Towards the end of the meeting, M. Collot d'Herbois, who formerly was an actor, appeared in the tribune, and directly, without circumlocution, propoſed the abolition of royalty. This was ſupported and enlarged upon by the Biſhop Gregoire, who uſed the following argument, and ſubſequent flower of eloquence: " Le mot de Roi eſt encore un taliſman, dont la force magique peut être le principe de beaucoup de déſordres; il faut donc l'abolition de la royauté. Les rois ſont en morale ce que les monſtres ſont en phyſique: les cours ſont toujours les foyers de la corruption, et l'atteliet des forfaits *."

* The word King is ſtill a kind of taliſman, whoſe magic power may create many diſorders; the abolition of royalty therefore is neceſſary. Kings are, in the moral world, that which monſters are in the natural: courts are always the centre of corruption, and the workhouſe of crimes.

Although

Although many circumſtances announced diſpoſition to a meaſure of this kind, I had no idea that it would have been adopted on the very firſt day of the meeting of the Convention, and without a ſtrong conteſt. The propoſal was heard with the united applauſe of the deputies, and the people in the galleries.

Bazire alone ſaid, that a decree of ſo much importance required a little cool diſcuſſion, and ought not to be decreed in a moment of enthuſiaſm: but this very enthuſiaſm, which rendered the Aſſembly unfit for deciding upon ſuch a point at that time, was the cauſe of its being decided inſtantly. The reaſonable propoſal of Bazire excited murmurs, and every mark of diſapprobation: it was in vain that he called out that he had as little affection for royalty as any of them, and only wiſhed that the queſtion ſhould be poſtponed, and debated, after mature reflection, with coolneſs, which

would give the people at large the more cauſe to be ſatisfied with their determination, and render it more likely to be permanent.

All this had no other effect than to render Bazire leſs popular. The abolition of royalty was decreed, and the Aſſembly broke up.

There ſeems to be a contradiction in decreeing, firſt, that whatever conſtitution the Convention might form, it could have no force till it was approved and accepted by the majority of the people; and decreeing, in the ſecond place, the abolition of royalty.

How does the Aſſembly know that a limited monarchy is not more acceptable to the majority of the people, than any other form of government?

The firſt decree implies, that whatever conſtitution is moſt agreeable to the majority of the nation, and no other, ſhall be the conſtitution of France. The ſecond de-

claces,

clares, that no modification of monarchy shall be the conſtitution of France, whether it be agreeable to the majority of the people or not.

But this precipitate decree, for the abolition of royalty, ſeems not only inconſiſtent with their own principles, but unjuſt in itſelf; becauſe it is puniſhing the King before trial, before they have made any examination into his conduct, or given him any opportunity of anſwering the charges made againſt him: not only puniſhing him, but inflicting the very ſevereſt puniſhment which, by the conſtitution, can, with any ſhadow of juſtice, be inflicted on him, although all were proved, and even more, than he is charged with; for, by the ſecond article of the conſtitution, which regards the King, his perſon is declared inviolable and ſacred; and the ſixth article is conceived in theſe words: "Si le Roi ſe met à la téte d'une armée, et en dirige les forces contre la nation;

nation ; ou s'il ne s'oppoſe pas, par un acte formel, à une telle entrepriſe, qui s'executeroit en ſon nom, il ſera cenſé *avoir abdiqué la royaute* *."

To inflict, therefore, as ſevere a puniſhment for a crime which is only charged, but not proved, as could with juſtice be applied to a greater after full proof, is the height of cruelty and injuſtice.

September 27.

It would ſeem, from what happened on the firſt day of the meeting, that the Convention conſiſted entirely, or almoſt entirely, of republicans ; and it is natural to conclude from this, that the ſame ſpirit prevails all over France. For it is aſked, how could a

* If the King ſhould put himſelf at the head of an army, and direct its force againſt the nation ; or if he ſhall not, by a formal act, oppoſe ſuch an enterprize, when attempted in his name, he ſhall be conſidered as having forfeited royalty.

fairer trial be made of the ſentiments of the people, than was made at the laſt election? The National Aſſembly, after ſuſpending the King's authority, decree, that deputies ſhall be choſen by the people, for the expreſs purpoſe of forming a conſtitution. There was, at this time, nothing to corrupt or bias the people in the elections, in favour of men whoſe principles they diſapproved: any bias that could be preſumed, would incline them to chooſe the friends of the royal family; for the French princes, ſupported by numerous armies, were advancing into the heart of the kingdom. This was the time for all royaliſts to ſhew themſelves, either by joining the princes, or chooſing men for the Convention of the ſame ſentiments with themſelves. But nobody joins the princes, and the people chooſe men of republican principles to give them a conſtitution. What inference can be drawn from this, but that the French

people

people in general wiſhed for a republican form of government?

It is difficult, however, to believe, that a nation who were fond, to idolatry, of monarchy a very few years ago, ſhould ſo ſuddenly have adopted republican principles; or if the majority really have done ſo, there is reaſon to believe, that this majority does not conſiſt of people of any property whatever, but of the very loweſt of the populace, who have nothing. It muſt be remembered, that when the National Aſſembly, on the 10th of Auguſt, decreed a Convention, they alſo decreed, that, ſetting aſide the former diſtinction of active and inactive citizens, every Frenchman, who is not in a ſtate of ſervitude, whether he could pay any tax or not, ſhould be entitled to a vote for an elector to the Convention; by which means a vaſt crowd of the moſt indigent rabble, who were excluded formerly, did

vote

vote for the members of the preſent Convention. It ought alſo to be remembered, that the elections were carried on after the ſlaughter of the Swiſs, and of the King's friends in the Tuileries, while the royal family were priſoners, and immediately after the maſſacres in the beginning of the preſent month; that the rulers at Paris had emiſſaries at all the departments influencing the elections; and that to oppoſe any election, ſupported by them, might raiſe a ſuſpicion of ariſtocracy: finally, it is natural to believe that, in ſuch circumſtances, thoſe who would have preferred a limited monarchy to a republic, uſed what influence they had, *not* to be elected deputies, and that none but republicans endeavoured to be choſen. Theſe conſiderations may account for the number of republicans choſen as deputies for the Convention, without this being a ſatisfactory proof that the majority of that part of the French nation, who can

be ſuppoſed to trouble their heads about government at all, has adopted republican principles, or really believe the republican form the moſt ſuitable for ſo extenſive and populous a country as France.

September 28.

The treatment which M. la Fayette has met with, ſince he was obliged to abandon his army, forms a ſtrong preſumption of the falſehood of the rumours of a correſpondence between the court and the enemy on the frontiers; and is a proof, that he had not that treaſonable intelligence with them of which he was loudly accuſed. People are at a loſs to diſcover, upon what principle of juſtice he is detained and impriſoned by the Pruſſians.

It does not appear that M. la Fayette had any view but to maintain the King's authority as it was limited by the conſtitution. Briſſot and other republicans were his accuſers. He did all in his power, it muſt be confeſſed, to

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overturn the ancient arbitrary government in France, and to eſtabliſh a limited monarchy in its ſtead. The ſentiments and opinions of the French nation, with reſpect to government, have, no doubt, undergone a great alteration ſince the armies and fleets returned from ſerving in America; but the prevalence of republican notions in France is of a much later date, and M. la Fayette never adopted them:—a very few individuals excepted, the moſt zealous friends of freedom among the French had no wiſh beyond that of a limited monarchy; and ſome of the moſt enlightened men, that have appeared ſince the revolution, were convinced that monarchy, under proper limitations, is the firmeſt and moſt durable foundation upon which a ſyſtem of national liberty can be built. The flight of the King to Varennes offered a pretext for the abolition of monarchy, if ſuch a deſire had prevailed in France at that time; and

the ſentiments of the Pariſians were actually tried at that very period. Condorcet, Briſſot, Petion, Buzot, Gregoire, Bonnville, and ſome others, had conferences and correſpondences with each other, on the ſubject of eſtabliſhing a republic on the ruins of the French monarchy. They were tempted by the opportunity which the flight of the King preſented, by the very ſlight appearance of uneaſineſs or alarm which that incident occaſioned, by the tranquillity and mutual confidence which appeared among the members of the National Aſſembly, and, perhaps, they were excited by a conviction that the King never would act ſincerely in ſupport of a limited conſtitution; and that the only ſecurity they could have againſt deſpotiſm, was in a republican form of government. But the endeavours of this junto at that time were without effect; every hint of that nature was coldly received at Paris, and, of courſe, had little chance

chance of producing heat in any other part of the kingdom: even the ſociety of Jacobins were then againſt it; and Roberſpierre himſelf, in his declamations, avowed that he was an enemy to republicaniſm; for although he attempted to be a demagogue from the beginning of his political courſe, he did not declare himſelf a republican, till the torrent of public opinion ſeemed to ruſh violently that way. For the claſs of real republicans above mentioned, finding the nation averſe to their favourite ſcheme, poſtponed any farther direct attempt at that time, but continued in converſation, and in writings, to propagate their principles and opinions, being determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity that offered to put them in action; and that ſuch opportunities might occur the more frequently, they were extremely aſſiduous in impreſſing on the minds of the people a continual jealouſy of the King, and the idea

that there exiſted, what they called, an Auſtrian party, whoſe object was to overturn the conſtitution, and eſtabliſh the ancient arbitrary government in France.

There are ſtrong reaſons for believing that they uſed every means to provoke a war with the Emperor, in the hopes that, during a war, the people's ſuſpicions would increaſe, and that the court would be tempted into meaſures, which would afford the republicans pretexts, and, perhaps, the means of overwhelming monarchy, in the ruins of a conſtitution which they conſidered as but a feeble ſupport for freedom. Republican principles were at length adopted, and avowed in the ſociety of the Jacobins of Paris; they, by their influence and numerous correſpondences, ſpread them all over France; and they flouriſhed with peculiar ſtrength and exuberancy in the ſouth.

Mirabeau was always a friend to a limited monarchy, and againſt a republican form of government;

government; which, in his opinion, was incompatible with the extent of the French empire, and the character of the French nation. On his death-bed, he ſaid, that with him the French monarchy would die: he probably knew of the project formed in favour of a republic, and that it would ſucceed, for a time at leaſt, when no man of equal powers with himſelf remained in France to oppoſe it.

September 29.

By late accounts from Paris, the treatment which the King and royal family experience at the Temple is harſher than ever. In the Aſſembly, the members ſpeak of him as the greateſt of criminals, and the populace are inſpired with hatred, and a deſire of vengeance.

Of all the means which the republican party have adopted to bring about their favourite plan, the moſt unjuſtifiable is, the calumniating the King. Ever ſince his acceptance of the conſtitution, they have been

indefatigable in their endeavours to render him, his government, and monarchical government in general, odious in the eyes of the people.

If a vaſt majority of the French nation wiſhed for a republican form of government, and had pronounced their wiſhes in a clear unequivocal manner; and if the members of the Convention were convinced that it would be more conducive than any other to the proſperity of their country, it would have been more manly, more juſt, and, perhaps, more politic, to have decreed that form of government, and given thoſe for their reaſons, than to pretend that they were driven into that meaſure by the treachery of the King, and accuſe him of a deſign to overturn that conſtitution, which they themſelves were undermining; and to repreſent a prince of moderation and humanity, as a deſpotic blood-thirſty tyrant. Politicians are ſo habituated

bituated to conceal the real motives of their conduct, that they ſometimes aſſign falſe ones unneceſſarily, and when the true would have been more creditable.

This method of rendering a republic palatable in France, reſembles in falſehood the policy of thoſe who, at the time of the revolution in England, propagated the deſpicable ſtory that, when the Queen pretended to be in labour, a child, in a warming-pan, was introduced into her bed-chamber, to be impoſed on the nation as the Prince of Wales.

To give this as a reaſon for placing William and Mary on the throne, was an implication that, if the child could be proved to be the real ſon of James, William would have had no right to the crown; and was departing from the great whig principle, that a King who endeavonrs to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the King and people,

people, and violating the fundamental laws, is deemed to have forfeited the crown. Which ſurely is a much more manly foundation to build a revolution upon, than the ſtory of the warming-pan, whether true or falſe.

One among many differences between the ſtate of the two nations at theſe two periods is, that England, a little before the year 1688, was ſo much intimidated by the executions on account of the Rye-Houſe Plot, and of Monmouth's inſurrection, that nothing leſs than the perſevering attacks upon the laws and religion of the country, by the infatuated King, could have animated the nation to thoſe exertions which brought about the revolution.

Whereas France ſeems to have been ſo much elevated by her recent ſucceſs, in reducing the power of the crown, as to drive on furiouſly to republicaniſm, regardleſs of the conceſſions and accommodating temper

of the prince, of the particular character of her own children, and of the dangers and difficulties attending a republican form of government.

Since, however, they have decreed that kind of government, whether they are thought to have acted wiſely or fooliſhly in ſo doing, policy unites with humanity in declaring, that they ought to behave in all other reſpects with generoſity to the unfortunate prince and his family, who are the victims of that decree; and if they do not, it requires no ſpirit of prophecy to foreſee, that they will draw upon themſelves the hatred and execration of mankind.

The republican party are aware of this, and have no hand in the harſh meaſures now adopted; but they have it not now in their power to ſtop the effect of that prejudice, which they themſelves have ſo much contributed to raiſe againſt the King; and which another ſet of men, their enemies,

are endeavouring to make ſubſervient to views of their own.

The republicans wiſhed for the deſtruction of monarchy, but not the murder of the monarch!—Their rivals may have reſolved on the deſtruction of the monarch, while they hope to find an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing monarchy under a prince of their own chooſing.

September 30.

A man arrived at this town yeſterday, who pretended that he came from Dumourier's army: he ſaid, they had ſurrounded the Pruſſians, who were in the moſt deplorable condition for want of proviſions; that they had already been driven to the neceſſity of eating one half of their horſes, and would ſurrender at diſcretion when the remainder of their cavalry was devoured.

This was the ſtate of affairs when he left the camp; but having been detained a day on the road by a fall, a courier from the

army

army had overtaken him, who was going to Paris with accounts that the French, not having patience till the Pruſſians ſhould finiſh their horſes, had attacked their entrenchments, cut a great number of them in pieces, and that the reſt were retreating as faſt as they could. I had heard this man's ſtory and ſaw him telling it to one circle after another in the market-place; and to ſhew how effectually the Pruſſians had been *haché en morceaux*, that was his phraſe, he flouriſhed with his ſabre, inviting the ſpectators to examine it, for he declared he had received it as a preſent from the courier, who had taken it from a Pruſſian grenadier in the field of battle, and had afterwards turned its edge againſt thoſe for whom it had been drawn.

The crowd gazed with awful admiration on the ſabre: ſome of the boldeſt touched it, and as it was a good deal hacked, it was conſidered as a confirmation of the victory,

and

and of the truth of every circumſtance of the man's narrative. Some incredulous perſons, however, ſuſpected that he had been ſent with an encouraging tale to ſpirit up people to offer themſelves as volunteers.

October 1.

In all likelihood there will be no farther account of yeſterday's victory; but it is certain, that an unſucceſsful attack was made by the Pruſſians on General Kellerman's army, encamped on the heights of Valmy, on the 20th. As it appears that Kellerman maintained his poſition, ſo far it may be conſidered as a victory. Dumourier however ſays, in his letter to the war miniſter, that although the Pruſſians did not carry their point, they continue their march by his left, and he expects to be attacked immediately: he writes with his uſual confidence, promiſes to preſs them very cloſe, and finally, to give a good account of them—

but ſtill it appears that the Germans are advancing.

October 2.

I heard ſome time ſince that the Duke of Rochefoucault was aſſaſſinated as he was going from his houſe in Normandy to the waters of Forge, in company with the Ducheſs; I did not then believe it, but now find this horrid fact confirmed. The murder of no man in France could excite more juſt horror and indignation: M. de la Rochefoucault was univerſally eſteemed as a man of integrity, and an early and diſintereſted friend of freedom: it is given out that the murder was accidental and through miſtake: I fear it was by ſuch an accident as produced the maſſacre at Verſailles. The Duke was preſident of the department of Paris on the 20th of June, and active to bring the leaders and abettors of the ſhameful inſurrection of that day to juſtice. I

delay

delay mentioning the particulars of this murder till I have them from better authority than I have hitherto had.

October 3.

Among the ſmall number of priſoners who were ſaved from the ſwords of the aſſaſſins on the bloody 2d of September was M. Cazotte, a man of 74 years of age, formerly commiſſioner-general of the marine, but who had for ſeveral years lived in retirement at his villa near Epernay.

This old gentleman had been arreſted at his houſe in the country, and brought to the priſon of the Abbaye, in conſequence of letters written by him and found among the papers of a M. Pouteau, ſecretary to M. de la Porte; from which it appeared, that he was in correſpondence with the emigrants; that he adviſed the King to eſcape from Paris, and had tranſmitted a plan for that purpoſe; that he had alſo adviſed the

the diſſolution of the National Aſſembly: for theſe, and other parts of his conduct to the ſame tendency, he was detained in the Abbaye in expectation of a legal trial.

But, on the 2d of September, when determined murderers made a mockery of the forms of law, and choſen aſſaſſins ſeized the ſword of juſtice; when the priſoner was ſurrounded at his trial by pikes ſmoking from recent ſlaughter, and within hearing of the ſcreams of thoſe who had been juſt dragged from the bar where he ſtood; on that dreadful day, M. Cazotte was brought before the horrid tribunal within the priſon. Several priſoners had already been carried there—none had ſurvived their ſhort examination above two minutes!—A ſign from the pretended judge, or an equivocal word, was the fatal ſentence, and the blow of death followed as the priſoner was led from the bar.

When M. Cazotte appeared — the liſt of names was examined by theſe inquiſitors, no mark of favour was ſeen at his—the ſignal of death was given, and he was led out to ſlaughter!—But, before he received the ſtroke of death, his daughter, a beautiful young lady of ſeventeen, ſprung upon her father's neck, exclaiming in a tranſport of terror and filial affection, Mercy! mercy! O, mercy!—my father! my father!

The grey hairs of the old man, the affecting appearance and exclamations of the young lady, arreſted the arms of the aſſaſſins, and melted the hearts of the people!—The cries of Grace, grace! and Vive la Nation! were heard.—The old gentleman and his daughter were conducted in ſafety to the houſe of a friend, amidſt the applauſe of the multitude!

This admirable young woman had never ſeparated from her father, overcoming her horror

horror for a priſon crowded with men; ſurmounting her terror, her delicacy, and every conſideration which could render the ſituation repugnant to her mind: filial love, and a ſtrong ſenſe of duty, enabled her to attend him during his confinement in the Abbaye, and to adminiſter every comfort and conſolation in her power.

I wiſh, from my ſoul, that the ſtory had ended here.

This unfortunate old man was again arreſted, again impriſoned, and, in virtue of a decree of the 11th of September, brought before the tribunal which had been appointed on the 17th of Auguſt for the trial of conſpirators, and whoſe functions had been interrupted by the maſſacres.

The firſt defence he offered was in the form of a proteſt againſt a ſecond trial, as he had been already tried by judges conſtituted by the *Peuple Souverain* to examine the

guilt or innocence of the priſoners: that he had been acquitted, and ſet at liberty by the voice of the people, and could not be made to undergo a new trial, without inſulting the ſovereignty of the people, which they all profeſſed to acknowledge.

This plea was diſregarded, the trial went on; the accuſation was thought to be proved, and M. Cazotte was condemned to loſe his head.

Without conſidering the merits of the original accuſation, or of the proteſt which the priſoner, by the advice of counſel no doubt, had entered, did not compaſſion and humanity plead *like angels trumpet-tongued* againſt his condemnation?

Let it be ſuppoſed that he deſerved the pains of death — Good God! had he not already ſuffered them a thouſand times over? Had he not drank, to the very dregs, the bittereſt cup of mortality that could be preſented

ſented to the lips of man? In what do the pains of death conſiſt? not ſurely in the actual ſtroke which puts an end to reflection and feeling, but in what this moſt unfortunate man had already endured—in the agonies and terrors which the view of an immediate, violent, and cruel death produces in the mind.

What unfeeling hearts muſt they have, who, unmoved by thoſe conſiderations, and the tears of his virtuous daughter, could ſentence him to undergo a ſecond time the pains of death!

The old gentleman, however, heard the ſentence with a ſerene countenance, took a tender leave of his inimitable daughter, and went to the place of execution with unſhaken courage!—He made his grey locks be cut from his head, folded them carefully, and deſired that they might be delivered to her—a recollection of her ſorrow alone

could diſturb him! it is ſaid that he gave this meſſage with a faultering voice—Then turning to the executioner, he aſſumed an undaunted air, and bade him do his duty.

October 4.

It is now certain that the Pruſſians are retreating. Dumourier has made good all the aſſurances he gave to the Conventional Aſſembly; and that ſelf-confidence, which was by many imputed to a vain-glorious and boaſting diſpoſition, is now thought to have proceeded from ſuperior talents and penetration.

This news occaſions univerſal joy in France; yet a very ſenſible man told me to-day, that he thought it more than counterbalanced by the ſpirit of party and diſſention which appears in the National Aſſembly. Marat has been prompting the people to new maſſacres! In one of his late journals

journals there is the following paſſage: "If the baſis of the conſtitution is not fixed within the firſt eight days after the meeting of the Convention, you have nothing to expect from your deputies."—And he concludes with theſe ſignificant words: "*O peuple babillard, ſi tu ſçavois agir!*" Yet this man is ſo great a favourite of the people, that the Convention ſeem to be afraid of ordering him to be arreſted and puniſhed. It is aſtoniſhing how he retains their affections, for the only means he uſes is, exciting one half to cut the throats of the other; yet the more people are murdered, the remainder ſeem to like him the better. This brings to my remembrance a fellow I once ſaw ſewing up the mouths of ferrets; ſhocked at the unfeeling manner in which he paſſed and repaſſed the needle through the poor little animal's lips, which were all flowing with blood, I deſired him to deſiſt, ſaying, How can you be ſo cruel?

Loard, Sir, replied he, it be'en't cruel; they likes it.

Likes it!

Aye, that they does, reſumed the brute; and the more I makes them bleed, they likes me the better.

October 5.

The great evil of the ancient government of France was, that the executive power was too ſtrong, and all the other powers of the ſtate too weak: ſo that however unjuſtly the former was exerciſed, the people had no means of redreſs or of reſiſtance but by open inſurrection; a meaſure always dangerous, and hardly ever uſed, except when men are rendered deſperate.

The framers of the late conſtitution of France fell into the oppoſite extreme; they left the executive power too much expoſed to attacks, and too unable to defend thoſe rights and prerogatives with which the conſtitution endowed it; at leaſt this was evidently

dently the caſe at the beginning of their new government, before the nation, which was intoxicated with the victory over deſpotiſm, had time to acquire more ſedate and more rational notions concerning freedom.

Perhaps, however, that form of government which was reared by the Conſtituent Aſſembly might have ſtood, and, by the gradual alterations which time would have diſcovered to be neceſſary, might have been matured into a proſperous and laſting ſyſtem, had it not been for the ſociety of Jacobins. This ſociety, by diffuſing the ſpirit of liberty, and keeping the people of France ſteady to the cauſe of freedom, was of great ſervice while the conſtitution was forming, but proved its deſtruction after it was formed.

Let us ſuppoſe a ſociety as numerous as that of the Jacobins, with ſome members of both houſes of parliament in it, eſtabliſhed

in

in Palace-yard, and that every queſtion of a public nature was debated and decided in this club, before it was brought into either houſe of parliament, or while it was in agitation there; and let us farther ſuppoſe, that a mob are always ready, at the command of the leading members of this ſame ſociety, to inſult thoſe of either houſe of parliament, of whoſe public conduct they diſapprove; in this caſe, what would become of the preſent conſtitution of Great Britain?

This is preciſely the ſtate in which the legiſlature of France was for ſeveral months previous to the 10th of Auguſt. For the conduct of the Jacobin ſociety in Paris tended to vilify the National Aſſembly, and to render the executive power a mere pageant; this had driven ſome of the moſt reſpectable members out of that club. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the King wiſhed for ſuch a check upon this ſociety, as

as would put it out of its power to arreſt the action of government, and raiſe a fermentation in the country as often as any public meaſure was adopted which it diſapproved: every friend of the conſtitution muſt have had the ſame deſire. Thoſe who had the greateſt influence with the Jacobins were averſe to the war, and ſhewed great ſolicitude to prevent it. There is reaſon to believe that the Court of Vienna did not deſire war more than they; but diſplayed ſome hoſtile appearances, to give the King and his miniſters the more weight in their endeavours to reſiſt the attacks of that ſociety, and to obtain a decree of the National Aſſembly, precluding thoſe queſtions which were to be debated in the Aſſembly from being previouſly diſcuſſed in the ſociety. The only communication which was between the Court of the Tuileries and that of Vienna, had this for its object, and nothing elſe; and even this communication

was

was begun and carried on by certain agents, who pretended to the latter that they had more influence with the former than they had in reality, and made the ſame pretenſions to the former reſpecting their influence with the latter, by which means both were deceived. But, taking this in the worſt light, it is very different from the King's having an underſtanding with that Court, after hoſtilities were begun, with a view to facilitate the entrance of foreign armies into France.

There are good grounds for believing that a great majority of the members of the Legiſlative Aſſembly were ſincere ſupporters of the conſtitution, and had no fear of the King's having any deſign to overturn it: Why then did this majority allow a minority to deſtroy a conſtitution with which they were ſatisfied? Becauſe the leaders of the minority were members of the ſociety of Jacobins, had influence with ſome of the ſections to beſiege the

the bar of the National Aſſembly with inflammatory addreſſes againſt the King and his miniſters, while they had a mob always ready at their inſtigation, to inſult thoſe deputies who ſupported government; and at length, finding that they could not carry the queſtion againſt M. de la Fayette, they found means to new model the general council of the municipality of Paris, excited the inſurrection of the 10th of Auguſt, and uſurped the whole power of the ſtate, as has been ſhewn.

In other revolutions of which hiſtory gives us an account, thoſe who are at firſt employed as the inſtruments of inſurrection, are afterwards thrown aſide by the chiefs as uſeleſs or dangerous; but in this revolution in France, thoſe who were employed as inſtruments retain their importance, and the chiefs are thrown aſide.

The Lameths, and M. Duport, who firſt propoſed the plan of eſtabliſhing political

ſocieties all over France, which maintain a conſtant correſpondence with the Jacobin ſociety at Paris, have fallen victims to that meaſure.

The Duke of Rochefoucault, M. la Fayette, Barnave, Talleyrand, Lewis of Narbonne, M. Beaumetz, Garnier, Clermont-Tonnere, were all inſtrumental in bringing about the revolution, prompted, as there is every reaſon to believe, by a genuine love of freedom, and a ſincere deſire of eſtabliſhing a limited monarchy in France, and of maintaining that conſtitution for which ſome of them had made very great ſacrifices. What is become of theſe men? Some have been aſſaſſinated, ſome impriſoned, and the reſt obliged to fly from their country.

Condorcet, Buzot, Briſſot, Petion, Kerſaint, Genſonet, Bonnville, ſhewed an early partiality for a republican form of government, either from a belief that it is preferable to any other, or from a ſuſpicion that

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the King would not reſt ſatisfied with the conſtitution, but uſe all the powers it left in his hand to reſtore the ancient deſpotiſm. Acting on this ſuſpicion as if it were a certainty, they uſed every means in their power to give their countrymen the ſame partiality for a commonwealth which they had themſelves; and, among other means, they did not ſcruple to accuſe the King of plots for overturning the conſtitution, of which they had not better proof, perhaps, than the idea that it was natural for him to wiſh it overturned.

Vergniaud and Gaudet, both men of diſtinguiſhed talents, were originally friends to a limited monarchy as eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, as appears by a memorial ſigned by them, and preſented to the King; but having a better opinion of the republican party than any other in the Aſſembly, they joined them after the 10th of Auguſt, and have acted with them ever ſince.

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This party, however, had no immediate active hand in exciting or carrying on the attack upon the palace on the 10th of Auguſt; they ſeem to have waited for the event, in the intention of eſtabliſhing their favourite form of government in caſe the aſſailants ſhould be ſucceſsful, and to afford them protection in a contrary event.

The moſt active agents of the inſurrection, were, Albite, Bazire, Camille Deſmoulins, Merlin of Thionville, and, above all, Chabot the capuchin, who were continually going to the different ſuburbs, and preaching revolt among the people. Theſe men were members of the Jacobin ſociety, aſſiſted in this work by other members, particularly Santerre, and the leader of the fœderés from Marſeilles. M. Barbaroux, who was ſince choſen a deputy from Marſeilles to the Convention, and who had great influence with the band of fœderés, was alſo a moſt active agent in the inſurrection,

tion, though otherwiſe unconnected with Danton's party, and intimately attached to the friends of Roland.

It appears ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that while thoſe juſt named were inſtigating the people to attack the palace of the Tuileries; while Danton, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, and others, were new-modelling the general council of the commune; and while Gaudet and Vergniaud were preſiding alternately in the Aſſembly, during the alarming and dangerous night of the 9th and morning of the 10th of Auguſt, there is no mention of Roberſpierre. He had been, however, the chief perſonage in the ſociety of Jacobins for ſeveral months before that epoch; but he did not judge it proper to appear again till the affair was decided by the ſlaughter of the Swiſs, and the impriſonment of the Royal Family. He then reſumed his place at the Jacobin club, and ſoon after got himſelf elected of the general council of the

municipality, of which he became a leading member; and, in conjunction with Panis, Servan, and Le Gendre the butcher, was moſt aſſiduous in promoting the numerous arreſts, and filling the priſons, which were dreadfully emptied at the beginning of September.

But, as the republican party had ſtill leſs connection with the maſſacres of September than with the inſurrection in Auguſt; as they expreſs a deſire of enquiring into that horrid tranſaction, and of bringing the authors to puniſhment; and as they are all attached to the miniſter Roland, of whoſe integrity they are convinced; Danton, Chabot, Merlin, Camille Deſmoulins, Collot d'Herbois, Bazire, Albite, and Robeſpierre, declare againſt them, excite Marat to proſcribe them in his bloody journal, and uſe every means to expoſe them to the fury of the people: M. Egalité himſelf, perceiving that thoſe means are already attended with

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ſome degree of ſucceſs, and probably imagining that it will increaſe, ſeems inclined to attach himſelf to the party of Danton, Roberſpierre, and their followers. So that very poſſibly thoſe who took ſo much and ſuch early pains to eſtabliſh a republic, and who expected, no doubt, to act a principal part in it when eſtabliſhed, may, like thoſe who brought on the revolution, and formed the conſtitution, be ſupplanted and deprived of power, perhaps of life, by a ſet of men far inferior to them in talents, but who ſeem at preſent to enjoy more of the people's favour. Thus, through all the ſtages of this revolution, thoſe who have been the authors of the moſt important alterations, whether for the better or the worſe, have been ſupplanted by inferior agents; becauſe, having obtained their object by flattering the people, they then with the hands of government to be ſtrengthened, the laws to be put in force, and the future exertions of thoſe to be re-

ſtrained, by whom they obtained their power. But other demagogues ſtart up, who, having no part in the new government, tell the people that many improvements are ſtill needed; that their new governors, under the pretence of reſtoring law and order, want to tyrannize over them. —They adopt ſome favourite prejudice of the people, and offer them ſome new privilege, however pernicious, which has been hitherto refuſed, and ſo gain their confidence; for, thoſe who promiſe new favours have a great advantage over thoſe who put men in mind of old ones, and an harangue in praiſe of licentiouſneſs pleaſes the multitude more than one which inculcates obedience to law.

Thus the ſecond claſs of leaders are driven out of power by a third, who, on the ſame principles, may ſoon be excluded by a fourth: but le Peuple Souverain retains the power, and, although divided into different

ferent parts, like the polypus, every detached portion preſerves its activity, and aſſumes all the faculties and energy of the complete ſovereign.

If the preſent ſtate of affairs continues much longer, anarchy and confuſion muſt overwhelm the land; and it will be of little importance to wretched individuals, whether their miſery is derived from a combination of foreign invaders, or their own internal diſſentions.

But as a National Convention, from all the departments of France, is now aſſembled at Paris, and as another very unexpected event has likewiſe taken place, namely, the retreat of the Pruſſian army, it might be imagined that a permanent and free government would ſtill be eſtabliſhed. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the account we hear of ſome of the deputies does not greatly ſupport this expectation: thoſe elected by the department of Paris, in particular,

are neither celebrated for talents, nor for that degree of moderation and prudence which the times require; and many augur ill of the wiſdom of the Convention, from the precipitate manner in which they agreed to the abolition of the conſtitution, and of royalty, on the firſt day of meeting, at the propoſition of a man of little or no weight. Yet, on the meaſures which this Conventional Aſſembly, ſuch as it is, ſhall adopt, the fate of the extenſive and populous nation of France, perhaps the tranquillity of Europe, ſeems in a conſiderable degree to depend: this conſideration excites ſo ſtrong a deſire of being witneſſes to their proceedings, that we have reſolved to ſet out to-morrow for Paris, through part of French Flanders, by the way of Lille.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016